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Further on Shevardnadze, Counterparts in Ottawa

LD1402101790 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa February 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets:

The second day of the International "Open Skies" Conference in Ottawa was marked by a number of serious diplomatic achievements concerning not only the official subject of the talks.

An official statement announcing talks between the foreign ministers of the two German states, France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States on the issue of German reunification and its ramifications, ended a flurry of behind-the-scenes discussions.

On Tuesday Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had a lengthy talk with his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

He also met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker four times and conferred with East German and Polish foreign ministers, Oscar Fischer and Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The Soviet delegation had contacts with representatives from all Warsaw Treaty countries.

The Shevardnadze-Baker meeting produced yet another tangible result. They coordinated the levels of American and Soviet armed forces in Europe outside the western borders of the Soviet Union.

It was specified that the United States and the Soviet Union would not station more than 195,000 land and air force personnel on foreign territory in central Europe.

The United States agreed that it would not station more than 30,000 servicemen in Europe outside the central zone.

The participants in the conference agreed that this accord removes one of the most serious obstacles to the conclusion of a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe this year.

All foreign ministers participating in the Ottawa conference adopted two basic documents: a communique on "open skies" and a communique on conventional arms in Europe and on a summit meeting within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Bilateral relations were discussed and international problems, mainly European ones, were touched upon during meetings between Shevardnadze and his Czechoslovak and Turkish counterparts, Jiri Dienstbier and Mesut Yilmaz.

During the concluding meeting on Tuesday Shevardnadze and Baker summed up the results of intensive Soviet-American high-level contacts which continued throughout the past week.

U.S., USSR Nuclear Disarmament Moves Cited

LD1302222890 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 13 Feb 90

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Are the Soviet Union and the United States about to conclude a treaty on cuts in strategic offensive arms? This is a highly topical question. It is extremely important to reduce arms stockpiles in order to strengthen strategic stability and lessen the risk of an outbreak of nuclear war.

The results of the negotiations in Moscow between Soviet leaders and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker warrant the conclusion that such a valid treaty can be prepared for signing at the Soviet-American summit to be held this year.

Both sides have considerably advanced towards overcoming differences in their approaches to a number of problems.

It has specifically been agreed that the question of sea-launched cruise missiles will be decided on the basis of parallel, politically-binding statements, valid for the whole term of the operation of a treaty on strategic offensive arms.

The sides have agreed to set ceilings on undeployed ballistic missiles and warheads to them regarding all intercontinental ballistic missiles that were rested from mobile launchers.

The questions of access to telemetric data during missile tests have been coordinated.

Considerable progress has been made regarding air-launched cruise missiles.

Only one question, about the range of such missiles, has not been resolved.

Some aspects of the relationship between the future treaty on strategic offensive arms and the presently operating treaty on anti-ballistic missile systems have become more specific.

Both sides contributed to the achievement of arrangements. This time the negotiations were a two-way street.

This shows that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States increasingly become constructive relations of equal partners.

It should also be noted that until recently the Bush administration was rejecting the Soviet proposal for the discussion of the possibility of working out a second treaty on strategic offensive arms, envisaging heavier cuts than those registered in the treaty being drafted.

The United States has now expressed the readiness to discuss subsequent steps in this direction. This gives the hope that the process of nuclear disarmament will continue.

Solton Criticizes U.S. Stand on Troop Cuts

LD1302143690 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Yuriy Solton Commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] At a news conference in Washington on Monday President George Bush censured the Soviet Union's approach to the issue of cutting down Soviet and American troops in Europe. Radio Moscow's Yuriy Solton takes a closer look at the matter:

When President Bush suggested that the Soviet Union and the United States slash their troops in central and East Europe to 195,000 men on either side, Moscow's reaction was positive. The Soviet Union agreed to the project in principle, over which fact the American President expressed satisfaction to the same news conference. Yet experts in Moscow pointed out that the American proposal failed to observe the principle of equality since under it the United States wanted to retain, apart from 195,000 servicemen in question, another 30,000 troops stationed in Britain, Italy and elsewhere in Europe. The counter suggestion advanced by the Soviet Union boils down to the following: Either the Bush plan should cover the whole of Europe outside the USSR or else this country should keep in Europe 225,000 servicemen, that's as many as the United States would. That idea has now been turned down.

I don't know what Moscow's official reaction will be like, but personally I think Washington's actions have been lacking logic. According to Mr. Bush, with an ocean separating the United States from Europe the Americans would be late to react to some dangerous change in the European situation. But a closer look at things will show that the Soviet Union has returned home nearly two-and-a-half times as many troops as the United States, with the other NATO countries preserving their military potentials in full. And still more importantly, officials in Washington have tended to overlook the radically changed strategic situation in Europe. Even the NATO leaders have acknowledged that the Warsaw Treaty is posing a zero military threat today which makes it inexpedient to stick to the old strategy of a forward based strategy.

In the final count, with the present concentration of military forces in Europe, the 30,000 troops in question can hardly ever have any decisive effect. The chief thing now is to see to it that the principle of equality is observed in (?minutest) detail. Otherwise, any disarmament process may find itself blocked. Hopefully, the present situation will be given a more thorough study both in Moscow and in Washington and a mutually acceptable solution will be found.

Cheney's Nuclear Arms Strategy Questioned

WA1302202990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 6, 10 Feb 90 p 12

[Article by Gennadiy Gerasimov, columnist and government spokesman: "Bear Science Today"]

[Text] Many books came out in the United States in the recent past with advice on how to get the better of us. I remember one university collection of scholarly articles was called strikingly: "How To Drive the Bear Into the Cage." Inasmuch as perestroyka overturned ideas, the next article about us, in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR newspaper, is called almost helplessly: "What Is To Be Done With the Smiling Bear?"

The smile has given rise to unprecedented problems for American military construction. For the first time in 15 years, the military budget is being cut; however, not by much—by 2.6 percent—taking inflation into account. Some military bases are being closed—most often in electoral districts of members of congress of the opposition Democratic Party....

"The probability of an attack by the countries of the Warsaw Pact on NATO is very small," declared Richard Cheney, U.S. secretary of defense, when he gave testimony to a congressional commission there before discussions on the budget for the next fiscal year.

Nevertheless, difficulties in parting with the usual "Soviet threat" are making themselves felt.

Recognizing the seriousness of our intentions in the area of cutting conventional arms, Cheney expresses doubt with respect to our nuclear intentions. Today the intentions can be peaceful, and, tomorrow, they can change. In military planning it is necessary to proceed from potential capabilities. For the Soviet Union these are great, and they are growing owing to the modernization of their nuclear arsenal. Therefore, Cheney is asking for appropriations for the MX and "Midgetman" missiles, for the "Star Wars" program, for the "Stealth" bomber, and for new submarine-based nuclear missiles....

"As formerly, a tremendous nuclear potential is aimed at the United States," Cheney declared when appearing on the telecast of CBS television's "Face the Nation" program. "We have no evidence that they (that is, us—G. G.) will renounce this."

Glasnost is glasnost. CBS gave me an opportunity to argue with the secretary.

Is the minister really unfamiliar with the fact that, according to an agreement by our leaders during the meeting on Malta, negotiations are going on, and should be concluded this year, regarding a reduction of strategic offensive weapons of both sides by one-half? If our nuclear potential concerns the secretary, then is it not more logical to come to an agreement on mutual reductions than to compete in increasing them? We have already competed for many years, and we have come to a point when a nuclear attack by one side will lead to its destruction even without a "crippling retaliatory strike," our ritual invocation, which simply returns like a boomerang in the form of a "nuclear winter?"

Does the secretary not really know that we are fully prepared to proceed toward a non-nuclear world? So that we are looking at the reduction by half only as a stage on the way to a nuclear zero?

If a "strategic deterrent capability," which he called in his television appearance the "main element of the American strategy," then why does he not listen to American and Soviet scientists who believe that five percent of the current nuclear arsenals of the sides is adequate? Everything above this falls into the sphere of of the so-called "overkill." But there is no sense at all in destroying an already destroyed enemy. I should observe that Leslie Stahl, who conducted the television interview, compelled the secretary of defense to go on the defensive with a volley of questions that were dictated by common sense: Why arm more if the threat has changed? Three former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are against your proposals on the MX and "Midgetman" missiles. If the appropriations requested by the secretary for "Star Wars" are cut in half, 100,000 new policemen can be put on the dangerous streets of American cities. And so forth.

In fact, why arm further, when agreements are successful?

With the retirement of the "Soviet threat" into the annals of mythology, bear science is becoming ill with a crisis of confidence. Our smile is disarming....

Comparison—Shevardnadze Briefing

PM1302161390

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 February 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on Shevardnadze's briefing of Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in Ottawa. The PRAVDA item, entitled "'Open Skies' for the World," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 12 February Soviet Unio DAILY REPORT, page 2, revealing the following variations:

Column one, paragraph five, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...Gyula Horn of Hungary, Oskar Fischer of... (substituting "Hungary" for "Germany")

Column two, paragraph two, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...In this connection it was noted that the Warsaw Pact countries have a common approach to the German question as one that requires special responsibility and a well-thought-out approach, one that affects the fundamental interests of many European countries and practically all the peoples of the continent. Both an urgent... (expanding passage)

Paragraph three, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...Europe (CSCE) process and its institutionalization. (supplying word "institutionalization"

Reportage of Ryzhkov Visit to Australia

Arrives 13 Feb

LD1302115990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Australia on an official visit. He will begin his three-day trip around this country from Melbourne. Over to our correspondent Petr Fedorov:

[Fedorov] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's visit is, without exaggerating, at the center of attention in all Australia, not only because this is the first time the head of a Soviet Government has come to this country, but also because sympathy and respect for the Soviet Union have grown immeasurably in recent months here in Australia.

Acquaintance with one of the major enterprises has been included in the schedule of the first day of the visit. This is a trade distribution center—what we would call a wholesale depot—of the Safeway firm. This firm operates all over the country. Stocktaking of the goods, and storage and deliveries in accordance with orders from shops are computer-controlled. This rules out the possibility not only of errors, but also of goods lying in storage for too long.

Visits Melbourne Establishments

LD1302144690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is in Australia, spent today in Melbourne, the country's second largest city. He visited the Safeway food company. [passage omitted]

Today, too, Comrade Ryzhkov visited a center for Soviet and European studies. He officially opened this new research and educational establishment. [passage omitted]

Comrade Ryzhkov presented the collected works of Pushkin and Lermontov as a gift to the center's staff and students. He is expected to leave for Canberra, Australia's capital, tomorrow morning.

Changes in Program

LD1402090990 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The Soviet prime minister, Nikolay Ryzhkov, is continuing his visit to Australia. A spokesman of the Soviet delegation announced at a news conference that the guest has made some changes in his program due to a slight cold. The signing of joint documents has been put off until Thursday.

Roundup of World Media Comment on Plenum

PM1302115790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Roundup of foreign media comment on CPSU Central Committee plenum prepared by S. Mushkaterov: "From Democratization to Democracy"]

[Text] The outcome and the proceedings of the CPSU Central Committee plenum occupy a central place in foreign mass media reports and are arousing tremendous interest in the world. As the French newspaper LE MONDE wrote recently, "It is simply amazing what importance the international public attaches to the CPSU Central Committee plenum."

British Prime Minister Thatcher stated at a meeting with journalists that "the plenum of the leading organ of the Soviet Communist Party has adopted great decisions. They have done things that we would have found inconceivable five years ago."

Whereas on day two of the plenum the trenchant, critical comments addressed to M.S. Gorbachev caused alarm for the fate of his policy, now it may be said with confidence that perestroyka goes on, West Germany's ARD TV channel stressed.

A statement by A. Occhetto, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party, says among other things: "We feel great satisfaction at the guidelines and intentions announced by Gorbachev at the CPSU Central Committee plenum. This is a package of ideas and proposals which develop and give consistency to the process of reform and democratization. Pluralism and the multiparty system are no longer taboo but are entering the sphere of concrete opportunities and political choice."

An official representative of the Social Democratic Party of Germany stated in Bonn: "The FRG Social Democrats welcome the CPSU Central Committee plenum decision to review the Communist Party's role and place in the Soviet state and society. The plenum marked an abrupt turning point in CPSU history. A significant step has been taken along the path of further democratizing the state system in the USSR. The plenum's significance goes far beyond the confines of the Soviet Union. Its decisions have brought closer the prospect of creating a common European home in which all the European peoples can live in peace and harmony."

Jean-Claude Gesso [surname as transliterated], member of the Politburo and secretary of the French Communist Party, commenting on the CPSU Central Committee Plenum's results on Europe-1 radio, stated that French communists fully support the process of democratization in the USSR. "Together with Mikhail Gorbachev we support a democratic and humane socialism and a Communist Party whose vanguard role is not decreed by the Constitution but is realized through a permanent link with people."

According to IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Blinov's report from Washington, the NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST devoted whole pages to their reports from the USSR. In U.S. political circles the plenum's results are characterized as favorable for the international atmosphere and the internal political situation in the USSR. "I consider the decision taken to be historic," T. Foley, Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, stated in a TV interview. President Bush, who is on a tour of the country, also welcomed "M.S. Gorbachev's reforming efforts aimed at expanding political pluralism in the USSR." As AP reported, G. Bush stated among other things in a speech at the Fort Irwin Army base in California that "Americans always welcome measures which promote democracy." At the same time he stressed that "even in the new era of cooperation between the two superpowers, it is important not to let the inspiring changes—political and military—make us complacent. Nor can we slacken our vigilance against world threats. The Soviet Union still possesses impressive military power. The military threat to democracy persists in each hemisphere. America must always be ready to fight for freedom and security."

Center-stage in the media accounts of the CPSU Central Committee plenum is the platform provision relating to the democratization of the party and political life in the USSR, the expediency of introducing a presidential form of rule, and the need for a variety of forms of ownership. Special attention is paid to the fact that the CPSU itself advocated making amendments to Article 6 of the USSR Constitution—the article containing the provision on the party's leading role. Observers believe that this will lead to the establishment of a multiparty system and pluralism in USSR political life. As the LOS ANGELES TIMES notes, the scale and aims of Gorbachev's proposals make them much more far-reaching than any of his previous reforms, because if they are approved by the party and implemented this will lead to the fundamental transformation of the entire Soviet political system and, consequently, affect all aspects of the country's economy and the daily lives of 287 million people.

"Even those who most desperately opposed real democracy in the Soviet Union," an ABC report said, "voted to end the Communist Party's monopoly of power. "The participants in the plenum just ended demonstrated a rare unanimity to the whole world."

In the opinion of virtually all the foreign mass media, the plenum discussions took place in a difficult and sometimes extraordinarily acute atmosphere. "The present CPSU Central Committee plenum," NBC noted, "was the first where Gorbachev was not applauded automatically. It was the first where he encountered comments which differed from his views on many very important questions." Bulgaria's RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes that the discussion at the CPSU Central Committee plenum "surpassed all expectations in its acuteness." Yugoslavia's POLITIKA notes: "The Kremlin saw the most complex debate within the CPSU leadership since M.S. Gorbachev's election to the general secretaryship."

As CBS TV reports, during the heated debates there were also outright attacks on Gorbachev. "But ultimately he triumphed at this critically important plenum.... With insignificant changes and only one vote against—B. Yeltsin's—the Central Committee approved the platform proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, which is aimed at keeping the country from disintegration and ending the present political crisis and economic recession."

Here is another extract, this time from the French newspaper LIBERATION, which, in my view, fully reflects the opinion of virtually all the mass media on the results and course of the CPSU Central Committee plenum: "The USSR is moving from democratization to democracy. The right time has been chosen for this difficult transition—the country is ready for change, it has demanded that itself and has itself begun to move in that direction. The will to create a democratic political system in the Soviet Union is already irreversible, and there can be no turning back now. The path along which Soviet society is moving has not become easier now that Gorbachev has announced his choice. The hope is that the movement along this path will become more effective. Democracy is the most effective system of managing a modern society."

Foreign Trade Cooperation Development Noted

LD1302151890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0611 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—TASS economic observer Yuriy Stepanov writes: The arrival in the international arena of new industrial countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand, South Korea, and a number of others has not gone unnoticed in the Soviet Union. It was not fortuitous that Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking in Krasnoyarsk in September, 1988, called the area of the Asian continent and Pacific basin "a gigantic area and the most rapidly developing part of the world."

Such rapid growth in the economic potential of the countries of this region and important qualitative advances in their production and export structures are making the Soviet business world ever more interested in developing and deepening foreign economic relations with them. However, for the moment, the overall proportion from the Asian-Pacific region in the Soviet foreign goods turnover remains small. It amounts to less than one percent and is limited to 10 to 15 goods—for the most part, raw materials. The only type of links the USSR has with these countries is trade. At the same time these countries are not only sources of a number of types of raw material, of which the Soviet national economy is experiencing shortages; they can also offer the Soviet market an extensive range of high-technology finished goods.

The example of South Korea is revealing in this respect. There was an almost five-fold increase in this country's exports to the USSR last year by comparison with 1988 and the value of those exports amounted to almost $150 million. South Korea supplies the Soviet market with video recorders, personal computers, electrical domestic appliances, clothes, footwear, and other consumer goods in great demand. At the beginning of this year an agreement was signed between the Soviet association "Primorrybflot" and South Korea's "Hyundai" firm to set up a joint ship repairs works in Nakhodka in the Soviet Far East.

Joint enterprise is also developing with other countries of the region. Thus, a fifth Soviet-Singapore joint enterprise, "Interlorg", is to start operating this year, which will be engaged in buying up computer technology in the region for subsequent sale in the USSR. Agreements have been signed regarding joint enterprise with firms from Thailand, Hong Kong, and other countries.

Other forms of cooperation are also starting to develop. It is appropriate in this connection to recall that a seminar on the problems of transferring technologvy from the industrially developed countries to the Asian-Pacific region came to an end in Moscow a week ago. It had been organized by the "United Nations Conference on Trade and Development", UNCTAD, and representatives from more than 20 countries shared their experience of the development of different forms of transferring technology. The attention of those taking part in the seminar was particularly attracted by the idea of setting up a joint enterprise zone in the Soviet Far East. Implementation of this idea actually began at the end of last year and the Soviet Union is inviting not only Japan but all countries of the Asian-Pacific region to cooperate in this zone.

It is well-known that in a number of areas of science and technology the Soviet Union occupies a leading place and can itself transfer technology which corresponds to international standards. The process of conversion that is underway in the USSR at present is opening up additional opportunities for cooperation in this sphere.

The Soviet Union, a considerable portion of whose territory lies in Asia, is engaged in consistent dialogue with each country individually and with the region as a whole. This is attested by the visit of Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov to Thailand, Australia, and Singapore. Soviet business circles believe that this visit will facilitate the further development of relations and serve to strengthen economic ties between the Soviet Union and the Asian-Pacific Region.

United States & Canada

Observers Continue To Assess Baker's Visit

Kremlin Speech Critiqued

PM1302113190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Political observer Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Witness of History: James Baker on Kremlin Hill"]

[Text] Last week was so rich in major events that one of them or, more accurately, one unusual part of one well-reported event, passed by little noticed. The event was the visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, and the part of it which, in my view, seemed not to receive due attention among the more striking news was his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee. In order of importance this part of the program was relegated to second place, with priority given to Baker's meetings with M.S. Gorbachev and E.A. Shevardnadze. Undoubtedly that was where the practical policy was made, whereas the speech to the people's deputies was more of a symbol.

Nevertheless, it was another important symbol of the changing times—the first appearance by a U.S. secretary of state in the new Soviet parliament which, although no sham, is one which has by no means yet fully proved itself. Here you can feel the breath of the times. And the speaker himself, at the beginning of his opening statement, called himself "a witness testifying on behalf of history... a witness to a revolution—a revolution in relations between peoples, a revolution in relations between countries, and a revolution in human consciousness." Recalling President Bush's past statements and his own, Baker repeated their essence: "We wish you success in your revolution of perestroyka, glasnost, and above all democratization."

The audience in the Kremlin's magnificent Sverdlovsk Hall under the vast, bright cupola included not only members of the International Affairs Committee, chaired by A.S. Dzasokhov, and Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, but also many other people's deputies, eminent diplomats, Soviet scientists specializing in American affairs, journalists, and also the secretary of state's large U.S. entourage. Having called himself a witness of history, Baker could perhaps have noted that at particular moments history becomes compressed not only in time but also in space.

While listening to his speech I thought about precisely that. This same week, in another hall in the Kremlin, the voices of the participants in the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a plenum unprecedented in the acuteness of its debates and rare in the significance of its decisions, had only just faded away. Our improved relations with the United States and the West are a sphere of the most obvious successes of perestroyka to date. But we cannot fill our stomachs with them, we cannot fill the stores with them—not in an hour or even five years—and by themselves they cannot overcome the economic crisis caused by the internal mistakes of perestroyka and the general character of the transitional period. At the plenum, too, as you will recall, this sometimes sounded like an accusation and a contrast: In the West they praise us because matters in the fatherland are growing constantly worse and because we are offering disproportionate concessions.

This, once more, was the logic of the black and white (or red and white) world of class enmity and hatred dating from the first years of the revolution: If a bourgeois berates you, that means you are sticking in his throat and therefore you are acting correctly, like a proletarian, whereas if he praises you, that is a disgrace, a disaster, and you would do well to look where and how the enemies are setting a trap for you. That logic exhausted us spiritually and ruined us with insane military spending in a futile attempt to create a "new world" in place of the "old" one "razed to the ground." But it is a fiendishly tenacious logic which is still considered the only right one in the minds of many people.

On the other hand, in reply to the counterattack from the old thinking, the plenum once again put forward the foundations of the new thinking: the supremacy of common human over class values, and the way in which this principle is paying dividends in practical foreign policy. For the first time and with the utmost clarity there was a comment from E.A. Shevardnadze on the most dramatic theme of recent times—the sudden collapse of the authoritarian regimes allied to us in Eastern Europe. He said they were destroyed by the will of peoples who had refused to go on accepting the violence committed in the late forties, in Stalin's time, and which had essentially persisted to our day. Could that violence go on endlessly or be productive in our relations with those countries? It is impossible now to predict the consequences of the peaceful revolutions in East Europe or the new structure of a world which is in the process of such rapid changes—and that is especially true in light of the coming unification of Germany. Here, too, all the participants in the foreign policy debates which erupted at the Central Committee Plenum refrained from precise forecasts.

And then—within the present compressed historical framework—the voice of an outsider, from the other camp, was heard in that same Kremlin in that same week. This "witness of history" did not touch on all the aspects, nor did he answer all the questions, but he did briefly explain why he and President Bush wish perestroyka success. Here are Baker's words once more: "In part we wish perestroyka well because perestroyka and the new political thinking promise the kind of Soviet foreign and defense policy that poses a fundamentally lessened threat to the American people than the hostile Stalinist approaches of the past. Of course, this is in the American people's interests. But perestroyka, and in particular glasnost and democratization, also create the kind of Soviet domestic policy which offers Soviet people the freedom they deserve. In these five short years your people have tasted freedom to an extent which, to the eyes of a foreign observer at any rate, is unparalleled in Soviet history."

So, America's own national interest—that is what U.S. leaders see first and foremost in Soviet perestroyka. They do not hide that, and it is understandable because it is not a magnanimous altruism that is at issue in such instances. But their interest coincides with ours because we, too, very much need a less threatening U.S. foreign and military policy and can find it only on a new path. Furthermore, the people at the helm of state in the United States and a great many Americans greatly prefer our domestic policy, too, because it gives Soviet people greater freedom, and the desire for freedom and the will to defend it are indeed in Americans' blood, in their historical roots. At this point arises the colossal question of what freedom is and how relations between the individual and the state and between society and the state are arranged within it. Also, we must consider our difficult experience and not complicate matters with ideological chicanery, but simply say: This is the supremacy of civil society over the state and the conditions created by it for the individual's self-realization, without which man cannot be satisfied with the quality of his life. We are striving for human rights of that kind, overcoming the legacy of totalitarianism, with its merciless suppression of both the individual and society. For all the various systems—and they will remain—here too we have some highly promising common ground with the Americans. The development of democracy is the foundation of the new relations. These are self-evident truths which, however, those who criticize perestroyka because of the improvement of relations with the United States refuse to understand.

Baker called the pre-perestroyka Soviet Union, in which the "center ruled mercilessly, ruthlessly, and irrationally," an "upside-down world, the world of darkness at noon" where "words lost their true meaning." As an example he cited the USSR Constitution devised in Stalin's time which proclaimed that the Supreme Soviet was the paramount ruling organ, whereas in fact it was "someone else" who ruled. The secretary of state testified: "Today, however, we see that the words are coming true. Today we see the return of reason. Today I have come to the founding fathers of the new Soviet Union which you are building."

Sitting next to others in the Sverdlovsk Hall, I occasionally heard a murmur of discontent from a number of those present, a murmur which seemed to be about to turn into quite loud exclamations of disapproval but did not. Nowadays we criticize ourselves more vigorously than any foreigners, and the U.S. secretary of state did not outdo us in our own criticism, but I too murmured inwardly along with the others: In his position as the high-ranking representative of another country, he had no right to embark in that hall on such a frank exposure of our past. In my view, that was a breach of diplomatic tact. But hardly an accidental one. From time to time they will hurl grim reality at us, not only behind our backs—that is the nature of things with officials and even more so the press in the West—but also to our faces. We are in a somewhat unequal position in relation to them. We reject as defunct our age-old model of administrative-command socialism; we eschew the subordination of society to a state as represented by the one and only, eternally ruling party. And we are right to do so. But they do not reject their parliamentary, democratic model; it has survived the contest with ours; it has withstood the challenge of history. And in this capitalist sense, at this stage of history we are not on equal terms. They have won—and from time to time they lose their sense of moderation and tact in places where the absence of those qualities is unpardonable.

Baker's "testimony" in the Kremlin lasted 90 minutes, ending just before his flight out of Moscow. The bulk of the time was taken up with questions and answers. In the opening address and later in the replies to questions he expressed a readiness to share that experience which is fit for our parliamentary "founding fathers" to borrow. He also unexpectedly tested his strength in the field of the new-born Soviet populism. As for experience, the secretary of state praised American democracy for the fact that it gives him no peace and that through the Congress he is "accountable to the American people," that "only a mathematician" could calculate how many times he has been summoned to Capitol Hill, though he has been on the job only one year.

He said: "Time and again they question me about everything, from our conduct toward your great country to the activity of some clerk in a small, remote consulate. Time and again I go to Capitol Hill to do my duty for the U.S. people."

Our foreign minister, I believe, does not yet need a mathematician to calculate how many times he has had to account to people's deputies. Parliamentary activity is only just beginning. But there is ready-made experience and a quite fitting example, first and foremost for our International Affairs Committee. It should accumulate true parliamentary professionalism, persistence in fighting for its rights, and be a busybody of the good kind. And it should fear the old inertia and get to work without delay.

As far as populism is concerned, Baker most likely would have earned the applause of many Soviet citizens demanding a reduction or a total cessation of our aid to other countries so as to mobilize all the means for domestic needs. Here he was striking at one Latin American point—not a fortuitous one for the United States: The Soviet Union needs to curtail its aid to Cuba and Nicaragua, counted in the billions, which the recipient countries, in his view, are using to undermine democratically elected governments in Central America. Baker the populist gave an assurance that he was concerned about our needs. "This is all the more incomprehensible because it is taking place at a time when your people so patently need these limited resources for a good application at home," he said. "One of the functions which is very carefully carried out by our Congress is to examine the foreign aid budget, especially in critical regions. And, if you will permit me to say so, you ought to do the same with regard to military aid to Central America."

A lack of tact once again. He is not the man to be talking in those terms, and not in the Kremlin. But, let us admit, he not only aimed at but also hit the target. It is not only a question of Cuba and Nicaragua (although it is about them, too). From Khrushchev's times, when Moscow flattered itself with the hope of leading the Third World one way or another onto socialist paths, our state began to make pledges, without reporting this to its people, concerning aid to former colonial countries. Ever-present among the people was the question: Can we, given our standard of living, allow this aid, and to what degree is it justified politically and economically? The question, however, always remained unanswered, even when some African dictator nurtured on our handouts was overthrown or turned against us, preferring aid from Washington. It remains without a proper answer even to this day. This does not mean that the answers must be the ones that Baker is recommending. But it does mean that they must be substantiated from the viewpoint of the state's interest and must at the same time take account of the simple wisdom that says that we should live within our means.

By the way, a week before he appeared on the Kremlin hill, the U.S. secretary of state made a routine visit to Capitol Hill and there, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, defended the budget draft submitted by the Bush administration for aid to foreign states. For the next fiscal year a total of $15 billion has been requested for this section of the budget, which is almost a billion more than in the present fiscal year. The grounds, it must be said, are almost exclusively strategic. The most of all, $5.1 billion, is going to Israel (the biggest recipient), and to Egypt: to Israel as a strategic ally, which moreover has incomparably powerful movers and shakers in Washington; and to Egypt so as to balance out America's Near East policy. Some $573 million are requested for Pakistan to promote economic development, to help with the modernization of the Armed Forces, and to ensure "generous support to the Afghan people"—that is, to the armed opposition to Kabul. Some $1.11 billion are for Portugal, Greece, and Turkey, which are "vitally important for NATO's southern flank."

What is permitted to Jupiter is not permitted to a bull.... The Americans are not accustomed to looking back over their shoulders at others. This is one of the principles of their conduct in the world, and it was most recently demonstrated in Panama. Baker stuck firmly to this principle when one of our deputies explained to him that actions like the intervention in Panama play into the hands of the Soviet "hawks" and impede the "doves." Even given the present, qualitatively improved relations with the United States, we must not idealize that power's foreign policy conduct. Americans are businessmen. And we must be the same, but in our own manner, observing our own interests. With this reservation, some of James Baker's advice ought, evidently, to be taken into consideration.

Military Issues Reviewed

PM1302150090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Manki Ponomarev under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "Another Stage"]

[Text] The events both in our country and abroad are so dynamic and are developing so rapidly that it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep up with them. I will not touch directly on our internal affairs. I this say directly, because it is hard to grasp foreign affairs without taking them into account: The two things are indissolubly mixed and influenced by each other. Instead, I will focus attention on international problems or, rather, the most important of these problems.

At the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that has just ended, it was stressed that the most important thing for us now is to advance the process of disarmament talks, deepen dialogue and mutual understanding in key areas of international development, and do everything to extend the initial groundwork in the building of the common European home. That is the main essence of an innovative, truly perestroyka-based Soviet foreign policy which, to the greatest possible degree, agrees with internal needs.

That this is indeed so was confirmed by the talks between visiting U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker and his Soviet counterpart, and the meeting and conversation between the head of the U.S. foreign policy department and M.S. Gorbachev. The visit caused very great interest in the world and prompted a mass of predictions. Thus, THE NEW YORK TIMES noted: "The main aim of these talks is to overcome the three main obstacles in the path of a strategic arms agreement." THE WASHINGTON POST, for its part, wrote that the problem of a united Germany would doubtless be one of the main topics at the Moscow talks.

Well, the predictions came true. The whole range of traditional matters for Soviet-American meetings were examined in Moscow in recent days. But the problems of disarmament and the unification of Germany were certainly at the center of attention.

Let me remind you that the meeting between the Soviet and American leaders in Malta uncovered real opportunities for achieving major accords on nuclear, conventional, and chemical arms in the near future. But in order to realize these opportunities it was necessary to resolve many complex questions. That is what J. Baker and E.A.

Shevardnadze set out to do. As for the priority problem—the completion of the drafting of a Soviet-American agreement on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms—the sides focused attention on various aspects of their positions concerning air- and sea-launched cruise missiles. Where solutions have not yet been found, the quest for mutually acceptable decisions will continue. I think there is reason to say that the path toward signing a strategic offensive arms treaty is becoming increasingly clear.

There was also a detailed examination of the course of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. The Soviet and American sides put forward new considerations concerning reducing armed forces personnel, in particular the proposal put forward by G. Bush on reducing Soviet and American forces in central and Eastern Europe to 195,000 men on each side. The Soviet Union adopted this proposal, but with a view to reducing Soviet and American forces not only in central Europe, but throughout the European zone outside the USSR, or else setting a limit of 225,000 servicemen for each side in the whole of that zone.

There also was progress on a problem that for a long time appeared intractable—that of limiting combat aviation. The United States proposed setting a "ceiling" on NATO and Warsaw Pact aircraft of 4,700 along with an additional 500 "defensive interceptors" each. That differs markedly from what the United States was insisting on earlier. Proposals concerning the strength of Soviet and American forces in central Europe, as well as aircraft, were officially submitted by NATO's representatives at the Vienna talks on Thursday.

The heads of the Soviet and U.S. foreign policy departments also agreed that the preparation of protocols to the 1974 and 1976 treaties on ending nuclear tests is almost finished. The ratification of these important documents is on the agenda. Accords were also reached on other important aspects of disarmament and security.

Now for another important problem examined at the Moscow talks—the unification of Germany.

The Soviet Union views with understanding the desire of Germans in the GDR and the FRG for rapprochement and collaboration, which is seen as only natural. This process is now developing rapidly. All kinds of proposals are being put forward, one idea following another. The concept set forth recently by GDR head of government H. Modrow probably appears quite realistic. A final solution to the German question, in his view, can only be achieved under conditions of free self-determination for Germans in both states and in cooperation with the four powers that won World War II, taking into account the interests of all the European peoples. A future united German state should, according to this concept, be neutral.

Various ideas are expressed on this point in the FRG. But there are many indications that Bonn is working not so much toward the unification of two equal German states, as the accelerated affiliation of the GDR to the FRG, rejecting the idea of the future Germany's neutrality. All this cannot but give rise to some misgivings. It was noted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in Moscow that, hand-in-hand with the ideas of unity and unification, the specter of revanchism haunts Europe. Dangerous hopes for the revision of borders have been kindled, and the thirst for justice has been mingled with the thirst for political vengeance.

In this connection the sudden visit by H. Kohl and H.D. Genscher to Moscow does not seem so surprising. Many Western press organs attributed their desire for urgent talks with the Soviet leaders directly to what was said at the plenum. There is clearly an element of truth in this. But in my view, even without that there were very good grounds for a meeting. Bonn's position looks contradictory, and they realize that. In turn, they are seeking new approaches that would suit not only Germans in the West and the East, but also the other European peoples and the Soviet Union, which made such a great contribution to the routing of German fascism and militarism and made such great sacrifices to that end.

Naturally, in the course of J. Baker's discussions in Moscow there could be no question of any Soviet-U.S. accords on the German question. But the exchange of opinions revealed the proximity of the Soviet and American approaches.

The same can be said of the other problems examined in Moscow during these days. The fruitfulness of the Soviet-American dialogue is obvious. The Moscow talks were another important stage on the path from Malta to the next official summit meeting early in the summer.

I would like to draw attention to another aspect, too. The expressions of goodwill by leaders of the U.S. Administration toward perestroyka in our country and the desire to promote to some extent the processes taking place in our country have not gone unnoticed in the Soviet Union. But it is too good to be true. Even the American press, which has seen it all before, was flabbergasted by some recent events. It was frankly astonished to see President Bush, clad in a camouflage jacket, observing tank exercises in California where operations against a "Soviet enemy" were being rehearsed. And he was not only observing. He made several speeches about the threat to America and the need to increase spending on the modernization of strategic nuclear forces and implementation of the "star wars" program. "Looking at President Bush," one CBS television commentary said, "you get the impression that the cold war is colder than ever." And NBC reacted thus: "The head of the administration wants it both ways; he wants to encourage Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, and at the same time to keep military spending at approximately the present level."

It is not only a question of such ostentatious actions. In recent days R. Cheney and C. Powell, leaders of the U.S. military department, have been making statements in

Congress and the mass media virtually every day regarding the further development of U.S. strategic programs and the modernization of strategic forces, even given the attainment of a strategic offensive arms agreement.

On the eve of his visit to Moscow, J. Baker said: "Not only words, but facts show that the present Soviet leadership shares the view that the only way to ensure European stability is the rule of law, not force." It obviously would be better for everyone if Washington adhered to this same view, and not only regarding stability in Europe, but throughout the world.

Comparison—Shevardnadze Press Conference

PM1202103990

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 12 February 1990 carries in its Morning Edition on page 4 a TASS report on E.A. Shevardnadze's 10 February press conference following talks with Secretary of State Baker. The IZVESTIYA item, entitled "E.A. Shevardnadze's Press Conference," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the 12 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, beginning on page 24, revealing the following variations:

Page 24, column two, fourth full paragraph, sentence one, IZVESTIYA begins: [Text] A press conference by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, was held in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center 10 February. He said:

A new cycle... (replacing TASS opening paragraph with IZVESTIYA opening paragraph; deleting quotation marks)

Fifth full paragraph, last sentence in IZVESTIYA reads: ...meeting of their top leaders within six months.

The first new... (replacing "higher" with "top"; deleting quotation marks)

Sixth full paragraph, last sentence in IZVESTIYA reads: ...'cold war' years.

The second new... (deleting quotation marks) omits quotation marks at end of paragraph;

Seventh full paragraph, sentence two in IZVESTIYA reads: ...bilateral relations and transnational issues—was filled... (retranslating)

Page 26, column one, first full paragraph, last sentence in IZVESTIYA reads: ...of course, discussed in broad terms.

6. Transnational problems and... (retranslating)

Page 27, column two, second full paragraph, sentence three in IZVESTIYA reads: ...very wide spectrum of problems and, in my (replacing "and" with "of")

U.S. Position on Afghanistan 'Somewhat Changed'

LD0802203990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] In Moscow during the past few days, the Soviet leadership has been holding talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. As everyone knows, one of the issues on the agenda is the problem of a settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. Naturally, more than anyone else, Afghans themselves are concerned to resolve this issue. Our Kabul correspondent, Aleksandr Shkirando, reports:

[Shkirando] Afghans who are tired of the prolonged and pointless bloodshed of the war hope that in the course of the meeting mutual understanding will at last be attained between the USSR and the United States regarding the Afghan issue, and that long awaited peace will arrive on Afghan soil. It is difficult to foresee how the talks will end.

Thus far I would like to note that the position of the U.S. side regarding Afghanistan has somewhat changed. In the old days the United States used to insist that the withdrawal of President Najibullah and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan from the political scene was an absolute condition before any peaceful talks could begin. Now, however, the United States no longer objects to Najibullah staying in office during the whole period of transferring ruling power to a new government that would begin to express the wishes of the entire Afghan people. But as everyone knows, the current Afghan leadership also advocates the idea of such government. This is reflected in a peaceful comprehensive plan which has recently been circulated and which, given the circumstances that have arisen, contains, in my view, many constructive and democratic proposals. It also takes full account of the interests of the Afghan opposition. [passage omitted]

Schifter, Vershbow Meet With KGB Official

90UN0892 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 6 Feb 90 p 4

[Text] In accordance with a request from the American side, R. Schifter, U.S. undersecretary of state for human rights and humanitarian issues, and A. Vershbow, head of the U.S. State Department's Soviet desk, and staff of the U.S. Embassy in the Soviet Union were received on 5 February in the USSR KGB.

They were received by V.P. Pirozhkov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB. Yu.A. Reshetov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights Administration, and senior officials of the USSR KGB and Ministry of Internal Affairs also took part in the discussion on the Soviet side.

The American side was informed about the activity of the USSR KGB as one of the country's law enforcement authorities under the conditions of the further democratization of Soviet society and the formation of a state based on the rule of law and the protection of human rights and liberties. Other questions were reviewed also. The discussion took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

American-Soviet Space Cooperation Discussed

LD0802210390 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova:

It is probable that in the near future space exploration will be conducted by spacecraft developed by joint efforts of Soviet and American specialists.

This and other areas of scientific and technical cooperation were today discussed by Konstantin Frolov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Sam Keller, staff member of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

During his week-long visit to the USSR, Keller will concentrate on the possibility of a mission to Mars, ecology, safety and communications.

The American expert will visit research and educational institutes, the Gagarin Cosmonauts' Training Centre, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries (SSOD) and other organisations.

SSOD Chairman Valentina Tereshkova, who participated in the meeting between Frolov and Keller, pointed to the need to discuss space exploration at Soviet-American meetings. She said that scholars and cosmonauts should be involved in this dialogue.

The two countries have now approached such a time in bilateral relations when their steps towards each other may seem small and insignificant, Keller said.

But the content of joint work is very important and will yield its results both in the near and distant future, he added.

The most dreadful thing is ignorance of each other, which the two countries are now overcoming, the expert noted.

Moscow TV Reports on Bering Strait Air Route

LD0502142990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 5 February carries a two-minute report from Magadan Airport by correspondent V. Gerasimov on the air route recently established between Magadan and Anchorage, Alaska.

Gerasimov begins by saying that several cargo flights have already been made on the new route by Il-76 aircraft of the Magadan Civil Aviation Board.

There follows an interview with the director of the oblast health department, who explains that the cargo being unloaded is hospital supplies. He recounts his recent trip to the United States to look at medical establishments. He says that the North East Gold Association, the Magadan fishery industry, and the Magadan Oblast Executive Committee supplied the hard currency for the supplies.

Gerasimov concludes: "Thus, a reliable air bridge has been built between neighbors divided by the Bering Strait. It is true that so far it is operating irregularly. A green light has been given to cargo, but passengers, who numbered several thousand on both sides last year, are experiencing difficulties because of the irregularity of the flights. I think that the Ministry of Civil Aviation and the airlines of the United States will nevertheless find a common language on a mutually advantageous basis."

Northeast Asia

Yeltsin Cited on Solutions to Kuriles Dispute

LD1102001390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2122 GMT on 9 February carries a 12-minute report in connection with the holding in Japan of Northern Territories Day on Wednesday, 7 February. Presenter Vladimir Tsvetov gives the background to Japan's territorial claim on the four Soviet Kurile Islands of Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashir, and Iturup. He says: "For the first time" Northern Territories Day in Japan this year "has not been so frenzied and furious as previously, although the set of demands against our country has not altered." After reviewing the historical background to the problem, Tsvetov mentioned Boris Yeltsin's proposal for resolving the issue.

He says that Boris Yeltsin "mapped out five stages. First, official recognition of the existence of the problem itself. The second stage would be the demilitarization of the islands, and the third stage the organization there of private enterprise. The fourth would be the signing of a peace treaty with Japan. As for the fifth stage, Yeltsin leaves the formulation of that to the discretion of future generations, the more so since implementation of the initial four stages would require some 20 years. Perhaps the fifth stage would be a joint protectorate, or giving the islands the status of a free territory."

Tsvetov goes on to mention various proposals by Japanese figures on this issue. He ends by advocating that joint conferences, seminars and roundtable meetings he held on this issue between Soviet and Japanese parliamentary deputies, journalists, and public figures. Exchanges of views on the territorial problem at both the official and the public levels have already brought about some warming of Soviet-Japanese relations, he concludes.

Yakovlev Receives Japanese Delegation, Donation

LD1202150890 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—One million disposable syringes were donated to the Soviet Union today by the Japanese Sasakawa Peace Foundation. The ceremony at Moscow's House of Friendship was attended by USSR People's Deputy and Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretray Aleksandr Yakovlev and foundation board member Yohei Sasakawa.

The decision to donate the syringes was taken by the foundation organizer and Yohei's father Ryoichi Sasakawa, 90, during the visit of a Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Yakovlev to Japan last November.

Yohei Sasakawa said today that five million dollars will also be donated to five Soviet higher educational establishments.

Accepting the gift, Yakovlev described the action as "highly charitable". "We, deputies, perceive this gift as more than gesture from the soul or a call from the heart," Yakovlev said.

"It goes beyond regular notions of kindness, justice and charity and illustrates an epoch of a different outlook upon the world, in which we live," he said.

Briefly mentioning the major tasks of Soviet perestroika, Yakovlev stressed that, among other things, it should help the Soviet Union "change to the normal international division of labor, which has developed over the past decades."

However, perestroika is not limited to economic relations, Yakovlev pointed out. "We are also seeking to make our country a fully-fledged partner in the spiritual development of mankind."

Recalling last year's visit by Soviet deputies to Japan, Yakovlev said: "We realized that the Japanese people want to co-exist with us in peace, friendship, accord and cooperation." There is hardly a person in the Soviet Union that does not want to see Japan as a good partner and neighbor, he added.

Formation of New Political Party in ROK

SK1302112390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 11 Feb 90

[From the "Asian News" program under "Focus in Asia"]

[Text] The formation of a new political party named Democratic Liberal Party [DLP] was declared in the ROK. The governing party, Democratic Justice Party, and two of former opposition parties, the Reunification Democracy Party and New Democratic Republican Party, have formed a new political party. The DLP will be under the leadership of a [name indistinct] institution composed of the leaders of the merged three parties. ROK President No Tae-u is one of them.

The new ruling party will be formally registered on 15 February. The DLP will constitute the absolute majority of the seats at the National Assembly, placing under its control 216 out of 299 seats.

Students staged demonstrations in Seoul and Kwangju on 10 February protesting and opposing the formation of the DLP. Clashes with police occurred as a result.

Commentator on ROK Plan for Military Buildup

SK1302111190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] No Tae-u, leader of the Seoul Government, stated that the ROK should take steps designed to beef up its military potential to cope with the expected reduction in U.S. troops stationed in the country.

Station commentator (Valeriy Alekseyev) writes as follows:

The reduction in U.S. troops stationed in the ROK that No Tae-u mentioned is on a very small scale. The Pentagon announced a plan to reduce its Air Force in three bases in the ROK and the military personnel concerned by 2,000. These figures represent only five percent of the U.S. military forces deployed in the ROK.

Military commentators in the U.S. media believe that these figures will, in effect, not affect the tactics of the ROK side or U.S. troops deployed in the ROK. In addition, a discussion is going on there concerning a drastic cut in the U.S. Armed Forces this year.

Also, it would not be a bad idea to remember the fact that U.S. troops stationed in the ROK have about 1,000 units of nuclear weapons and that the issue of withdrawing these nuclear weapons from the ROK will not be discussed seriously.

This notwithstanding, No Tae-u has incessantly carried out plans for beefing up the military potential in the ROK, one of the strongest countries in Asia.

Reports by news agencies mention a vast [word indistinct]. For example, the ROK plans to substantially increase the funds for the development of such modern weapons as fighters, submarines, and [word indistinct]. [passage indistinct] Even Seoul's Defense Minister Yi Sang-hun found an excuse in the growing threat of southward invasion.

However, it is clear that there is no such plan in [name indistinct]. When Pyongyang is feverishly doing [words indistinct], can anyone speak seriously about the DPRK's plan for invasion of the ROK?

There are detailed proposals for drastically bringing down the level of the military confrontation between the North and South.

It is up to you to make an assessment of the situation. The DPRK Government has already put forward a proposal to reduce the armed forces to the level of 100,000 on both sides by the end of 1992. Seoul has not paid attention to this proposal.

Has the DPRK Government's proposal for converting the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone not reflected Pyongyang's sincere aspirations for easing military tensions on the Korean peninsula?

Last fall, the DPRK proposed holding tripartite talks among the DPRK, the ROK, and the United States to discuss this issue. Regrettably, however, neither Seoul nor Washington seriously accepted this proposal.

The DPRK unilaterally declared its national territory a nuclear-free zone a long time ago. The attempt by the current ROK leadership which tries to push ahead with the plan for beefing up military potential against such a background can never be justified. This poses an (?obvious obstacle) to improving the situation on the Korean peninsula and in the Far East as a whole.

Cooperative Science Protocol With South Korea

LD1302210190 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Tokyo February 13 TASS—A protocol on cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the South Korean State Foundation for Science and Technology was signed in Seoul today.

Under the protocol, Soviet and South Korean scientists will cooperate in basic and applied studies and joint research and will exchange people and information.

The YONHAP news agency reports that the protocol, signed by Vice-President Konstantin Frolov of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Chung Koon Mo, head of the South Korean foundation, includes provisions for the establishment of a bilateral committee that will meet on alternative years in Seoul and Moscow.

On Monday, the Soviet Academy of Sciences also signed an agreement on cooperation with the South Korean Institute of Science and engineering.

South Korean Minister of Science and Technology Yi Sang-Hui expressed hope that today's signing of the protocol will lead to the conclusion of an intergovernmental agreement on scientific cooperation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow TV Covers Ryzhkov Visit to Thailand

LD1302135190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 13 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited Phumiphon Adunyadet, king of Thailand, at his Bangkok residence. Thailand is a constitutional monarchy, and the king enjoys unquestionable prestige, respect, and reference. Today he is the longest reigning monarch in the world, since 1946. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and the king of Thailand had a warm and unconstrained conversation. [video of Ryzhkovs meeting with the royal couple]

In the evening the Soviet premier met with representatives of Thai business circles. The heads of some major corporations and banks and the Thailand Chamber of Trade and Commerce attended the meeting.

In his speech Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov mentioned that his visit was for as early as 1988 but an opportunity to visit Thailand came only now. Comrade Ryzhkov spoke about progress of economic reform in the Soviet Union and set out some ideas about specific areas of economic cooperation between the USSR and Thailand. In their speeches representatives of Thai business circles stressed the profound interest of the Thai side in promoting bilateral trade and economic ties. [video shows meeting]

Before leaving Thailand, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov held a press conference. In his speech, he said:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Obviously, in this part of the talks main attention was paid to the developing situation in Southeast Asia. This concerns primarily the issue of Cambodian settlement. We do not have differences on the main, fundamental positions, and we support the prime minister's proposal [word indistinct] that this region should be turned from a battlefield into a trade area. We have agreed that both the Soviet Union and Thailand, for its part, will use all possibilities to settle this conflict by political means. [end recording; video shows press conference]

Answers were given to numerous questions from journalists.

Prime Minister Ryzhkov on Visit to Australia

Meets Melbourne Businessmen

LD1302193190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Report by Correspondent Petr Fedorov in Melbourne]

[Excerpts] At Melbourne Airport, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov was warmly welcomed by Australia's Prime

Minister Robert Hawke, Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade Minister Gareth Evans, and Victoria State Governor John Cain.

Melbourne is the capital of one of Australia's most developed industrial and agricultural states. Concentrated here are the headquarters of the major Australian mining corporations. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today met the managers of one of them, CRA. [passage omitted]

For coordinating economic cooperation, a council of business people, Australia-USSR, has been set up here. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov received its participants today. In the common view of the Australian side, already this first day has helped to advance considerably Soviet-Australian cooperation in all spheres.

Visits Memorial in Canberra

LD1402075290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0705 GMT 14 Feb 90

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Canberra, 14 February—N.I. Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, who is in Australia on an official visit, arrived in Canberra, the country's capital, from Melbourne.

R. Hawke, the Australian prime minister, and other officials met N.I. Ryzhkov at the airport, which was decorated with Australian and USSR state flags.

On the way from the airport, N.I. Ryzhkov laid a wreath at the Australian war memorial, which was erected in memory of Australians who have died in wars in various parts of the world.

A copy of (?E.A. Vuchetich's) famous sculpture "Let Us Turn Swords Into Ploughshares" was presented to the memorial museum.

An official welcoming ceremony for the head of the Soviet Government was held at the Australian parliamentary building, which stands on a picturesque hill. There was a guard of honor, the national anthems of the two countries were played, and an artillery salute reverberated.

N.I. Ryzhkov's visit is a businesslike and constructive one, serving to strengthen and expand economic bilateral ties. This is the reason for the great interest being shown in it by the mass media not only in Australia and the USSR but also in other states.

Australia's Evans on Significance of Visit

PM1302144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with Senator Gareth Evans, Australian minister of foreign affairs and trade, by V. Mikheyev; no place or date of interview given; first paragraph is an introduction: "G. Evans: For a Stable and Constructive Dialogue"]

[Text] There can be no argument that the official visit to Australia by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, which is due to begin 13 February, will be an important landmark in the annals of Soviet-Australian relations. Just before the visit, IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Mikheyev interviewed Gareth Evans, Australian minister of foreign affairs and trade and a senator in the Federal Parliament.

[Mikheyev] Senator, how do you appraise the changes which have occurred in the USSR and in relations between West and East as a whole?

[Evans] Australia's Government and people have been thrilled by the scope and pace of reform in the USSR and the East European countries. We have a high opinion of M.S. Gorbachev's role in the progress toward less confrontational international relations. Thanks to this, positive changes in mutual relations between East and West have quickened their pace. We welcome the overcoming of the split between West and East in Europe and the ensuing prospects for better ordered economic relations, which would benefit the entire world community. We welcome the enhanced mutual security and hope for further progress not only in the area of arms control but also in the areas of human rights, inter-ethnic problems, the elimination of regional conflicts, and the development of economic cooperation.

[Mikheyev] How does Australia's Government perceive the problems of regional stability, and how would you like to promote the strengthening of peace and security here?

[Evans] Regional stability in Southeast Asia is an objective fact, which reflects the political and economic stability of states which lie in this region and are primarily ASEAN members. The sole exception is Cambodia in Indochina. Australia has put forward initiatives aimed at resolving the conflict which, in the long run, will open doors to political and economic cooperation for the sake of development throughout Southeast Asia. Whereas we pursue a policy of "all-embracing involvement" toward countries in Southeast Asia, our policy toward island states in the South Pacific is one of "constructive commitment," helping them in the social and economic spheres and in the defense sphere but painstakingly trying to avoid any charges by imposing anything on them.

[Mikheyev] One comes across statements in the Australian press to the effect that any further thaw in mutual relations between the USSR and the United States, between West and East, would lead to changes in the ANZUS [Australia-New Zealand-U.S. defense pact] bloc's nature. Is this true?

[Evans] Australia welcomes the all-around improvement of U.S.-USSR mutual relations as a consequence of perestroyka and glasnost. The easing of tension on the global level has also had a positive effect on the situation in our region. At the same time, Australia has historical ties with the United States in the defense sphere, and ANZUS is an inalienable part of them. ANZUS is of paramount importance for our foreign and military policy. The U.S. presence is an important contribution to ensuring regional security and stability, and our ties with the United States will remain strong and durable.

Even so, there is no need to exaggerate the importance of ANZUS, which presupposes cooperation in the sphere of intelligence information exchange, guarantees of material and technical supplies in the event of war, and cadre training. This is not a traditional treaty providing that each side will come to another's assistance in the event of outside aggression. Nonetheless, we believe that the U.S. military presence in the region is necessary, but this does not do away with our commitment to the concept of security built not on mountains of arms but on a system of interconnection and interdependence engendering trust. Thus, I perceive as perfectly consistent the course aimed at getting closer [sblizheniye] to the USSR, at recognizing that it is part of, and has a role to play in the Asia-Pacific region, provided that a lasting, stable, and conscientious alliance with the United States is retained. These are not mutually exclusive.

[Mikheyev] Prime Minister R. Hawke has put forward the idea of Asia-Pacific economic cooperation, presupposing the formation of a free association of states collaborating for the purposes of development and prosperity, rather than of a closed trading bloc. The first constituent conference was held in Canberra in November 1989. It was attended by only 12 states from the region. How does Australia feel about increasing the number of the association's members, specifically about the Soviet Union's membership?

[Evans] Australia does not object in principle to the Soviet Union's membership, but we note that its economic ties with the region's countries are extremely weak at present. The last meeting of ministers in Canberra agreed in principle that the group is prepared to examine the question of new members, but economic ties with the region would be the criterion of "suitability."

[Mikheyev] What does the government expect from N.I. Ryzhkov's visit?

[Evans] Since 1983, relations between Australia and the USSR have acquired plentiful examples of wide-ranging cooperation—in spheres like environmental protection, space exploration, medicine, and agricultural science, as well as political consultations touching on arms control questions among other things. We are more persistently developing our trade links, and this is a field which could produce a good harvest—for example, the conclusion of a fisheries cooperation agreement, and agreement on raw material and food supplies, or the holding of an Australian trade fair in Vladivostok in the future.

The exchange of visits in the last few years has been unprecedented—unprecedented in frequency and in the high rank of visitors. We value this dialogue not only because of its practical results and their effect on trade, for example, but also because we have an opportunity to engage in conversation with an influential world power.

We intend to develop bilateral relations and give them specific substance, which will be reflected in the agreements that have been prepared for signature. We would also like to outline spheres of promising cooperation (for example, the processing and transportation of foodstuffs), especially as regards the Soviet Far East program for educating and training specialists in economic management and in the market economy. Let me remind readers that the USSR enjoys "most favored nation" status in Australia. We also intend to discuss with N. Ryzhkov the most important international, global, and regional problems including Cambodia, Europe's future, disarmament, and the Australian-French initiative to turn Antarctica into a natural reserve and put an end once and for all to the exploitation of mineral resources there.

On the whole, we want to take advantage of this and other top-level visits to establish opportunities for long-term, stable, and constructive dialogue between our two states.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Ends Visit to Vietnam

LD1302131590 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City February 13 TASS—A Supreme Soviet delegation led by Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Gumer Usmanov visited Vietnam from February 9 to 13 at the invitation of the Vietnamese National Assembly.

During talks with the Vietnamese, Soviet lawmakers expressed support for constructive efforts by Vietnam and Indo-Chinese nations to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace and cooperation.

Soviet and Vietnamese legislators stressed the importance of the Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia and called for a political settlement of the Cambodian problem with U.N. involvement guaranteeing Cambodia's sovereignty.

The sides called on the United Nations to take effective steps to prevent a new Pol Pot genocide in the country.

The sides pledged to expand bilateral cooperation and step up efforts to promote international peace.

Aquino Refuses To Meet U.S. Defense Secretary

HK1402030990 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] President Corazon Aquino will not talk to a visiting American official, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney. This was formally announced by the president over the government radio station, where she explained that her refusal to see Mr. Cheney is because of the improper coverage by the media in the United States of her recent visit, when she conferred with American officials. However, President Aquino declared her government's readiness to hold a dialogue with Washington on the issue of the military bases.

Meanwhile, Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus says that the retention of the military bases will depend on the size of the payment which the United States will make for their use of the bases.

On the other hand, up to 88 congressmen from the lower house have urged President Aquino not to have dealings with Washington and to simply have the military bases shut down when the treaty expires in 1991.

Near East & South Asia

Ryzhkov Sends Message to Pakistan's Bhutto

BK1202161090 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Ryzhkov has expressed the hope that relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan will continue to be strengthened and will benefit the people of the two countries and contribute toward establishing lasting peace in the world. In a message sent to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto while overflying the Pakistan's territory on his way to Bangkok, he expressed sincere wishes for peace in Pakistan and prosperity for its people.

Najibullah on Past Year in Afghanistan

PM1302221590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by O. Moskovskiy and Yu. Tyssovskiy: "Road of Anxieties and Hopes"]

[Text] Kabul—In mid-February it is a year since the last Soviet soldier left Afghan territory. At KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's request, your TASS correspondents asked Najibullah, president of Afghanistan and general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, to describe how the Afghan people have defended their gains in that time.

If you look at history you may notice that fate has decreed that Afghanistan and the Soviet Union—two neighboring countries—should coexist peacefully and have mutually beneficial economic and social ties and contacts.

On the map of Afghanistan there is surely no province which does not have economic, social, or cultural facilities built with Soviet assistance. For over 70 years these relations have been sealed by the signing of treaties and protocols on cooperation. However, the Afghan people will never forget those first friendly steps which laid the foundation of the good-neighborliness between our countries' peoples. In present conditions the strengthening and expansion of these relations in all spheres, including that of parliamentary activity and the exchange of experience and ideas on the work of the two countries' parliaments, is of special significance. We firmly intend to do everything in our power to ensure that our relations with the USSR, based on the two countries' interests, and Afghan-Soviet friendship in the future are a typical example of good relations between two countries.

A year has passed since the Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan. Despite the complexity of the military situation and the ballyhoo about the rapid downfall of the Republic of Afghanistan Government, we have managed to defend the country's strategic points and repulse a succession of extremist offensives in the provinces of Nangarhar, Qandahar, Zabol, Laghman, and Oruzgan and attempts to sever the main highways. The economic blockade which the extremists repeatedly tried to impose was defeated.

With each passing day the policy of national reconciliation proves that it is correct and relevant. The Republic of Afghanistan Government's peaceloving proposals have influenced and continue to influence some field commanders despite being rejected by extremists on the instigation of their foreign protectors.

In tandem with organizing the active defense of the country, the Republic of Afghanistan Government has also implemented a number of measures in the economic and social spheres. Our most important task is to supply the population with prime necessities. In the first 10 months of this year (according to the Afghan calendar it is the year 1368—authors' note) more than 400,000 tonnes of goods have reached Kabul and 433,000 tonnes of goods have reached other provinces in the country.

It should be noted that the population and commanders of armed groups in the northeastern and central regions of the country reacted with understanding to the government aid program to supply those regions with prime necessities. In the future we intend to send such convoys to other provinces, too.

Despite the military pressure and economic sabotage by the extremists, we have elaborated and are implementing a series of measures to restore economic installations. After some interruption 38 state industrial facilities have already resumed work. To expand mutually beneficial ties with the Soviet Union we intend to increase the production and shipment of gas to the USSR, to begin the working of barite and the construction of a number of facilities. Chemical fertilizers, cotton, wool, leather goods, olive oil, fresh and dried fruit, carpets, reversible rugs, furs, clothing, and handicraft products are now being exported to the USSR.

Thanks to the efforts of the Republic of Afghanistan Government, in which the help and cooperation of the Soviet Government and peoples undoubtedly played the main role, the Republic of Afghanistan's international positions also have strengthened considerably. This was shown particularly clearly at the ninth nonaligned conference and the 44th UN General Assembly session. A number of countries have begun a policy review process. Some of them, for example Indonesia, France, and others, have expressed the desire to send their diplomats to Afghanistan once more.

At the same time, the past year has shown graphically that the opposition is incapable of putting forward a political program which meets the interests of the Afghan people and thus of expanding its social base within the country and beyond. By resorting to the mass slaughter of civilians by rocket attacks, the "intransigents" have considerably weakened their own positions. The extremists, despite being pressured by their protectors in the shape of the United States and Pakistan, have not managed to achieve a unity of views and actions among themselves. This is hindered by the interests of the countries which support the extremists, the attempts of each of them to place their own supporters in power, as well as deep disagreements within the opposition itself.

After a 15-year gap, parliamentary activity has resumed in Afghanistan. The country's parliament now includes representatives of different ethnic groups, nationalities, tribes, political parties, workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, women, young people, the clergy, and nomads.

Despite the military opposition and in conditions of continuing interference and aggression from Pakistan, the Afghan parliament continues to function and has passed decisions on the most important socioeconomic, political, and military questions of the country's life. The national council has ratified six laws and, in line with the changed conditions and situation in the country, has introduced a number of amendments to the country's laws. It also regularly hears reports from the leaders of state organs.

The help and assistance which the Soviet Government and peoples gave the Republic of Afghanistan in the difficult times have remained in the Afghan people's memory and are inscribed in letters of gold in our country's history. We take pride in the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet contains 120 deputies whom Soviet people rightly call "Afgantsy." They performed their internationalist duty honorably in our country and are now active USSR people's deputies.

International relations are now acquiring new forms and content. The policy of ensuring security by building up military might is giving way to the policy of ensuring all-embracing security by building mutual trust and cooperation at lower levels of military confrontation. This could not have been achieved without bold initiatives and actions. The role of the Soviet Union and, in particular, of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in averting the arms race and opening the way to a new system of international relations is extraordinarily great.

Essentially this is the result of the new political thinking. We see its results today in the package of measures on restructuring in the Soviet Union, the East European countries, in East-West relations, and in all aspects of political relations between countries.

It is well known that any nation at various stages of its life has to face great historic trials. We are confident that the Afghan people will again honorably pass this difficult stage, too. But they will never forget those who extended the hand of cooperation to them.

We constantly feel a responsibility toward the Soviet people. Now the Soviet Union's adversaries are trying to use the present disorders in the USSR for their own ends. This applies primarily to the representatives of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism. They are using those slogans as a cover to organize subversive actions against certain union republics in the USSR. We will not allow such actions to be carried out against the Soviet Union from Afghan territory. We want our border with the USSR to be a border of peace and calm.

Border Talks With Iran Open in Tehran

LD1402081990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Tehran, 14 Feb (TASS)—Talks have been held here between B.N. Chaplin, USSR deputy foreign minister, and M. Mehdi, Iran's deputy minister of foreign affairs. The two sides discussed the drafts of a Soviet-Iranian intergovernmental agreement on simplifying procedure for crossing the state border and a memorandum on conditions for reciprocal visits by citizens from the two countries between relatives and people on business.

Andreyev on Iranian Revolution's Anniversary

NC1202130990 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Excerpts] The 11th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution is being marked in Iran these days. This anniversary has become a significant and big political event in the country's domestic life. Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes:

Exactly 11 years ago the last fortresses of the despotic regime in Iran were crumbling. The National Consultative Assembly ratified a bill on the dissolution of SAVAK and the release of all political prisoners. Thousands of supporters of pro-leftist organizations were released from the prisons and started a very serious revolutionary struggle. [passage omitted]

The shah's era was crumbling and disintegrating and the time had come for other political forces. In those days in Iran, two very specific inclinations could be seen. One of these inclinations was represented by the country's leftist forces, namely the Feda'iyan-e Khalq and the Mojahidin-e Khalq organizations and the Tudeh Party, while the second inclination was seen in Khomeyni's committee. It was their activities that decisively specified the trend of revolutionary struggles. During this 11th anniversary of the revolution's victory, perhaps we should recall those dramatic events carefully.

The slogans of the revolution: A glance at the past—Iran's leftist forces had propounded a program for profound political, social, and economic reforms. They deemed it necessary that the anti-labor and anti-democratic laws be annulled, that production units be placed under the control of workers, that foreign capital be nationalized, and that the domination of imperialism at all levels of life be annihilated. They demanded that the land of which the farmers had been deprived be returned to them, that truly democratic land reforms take place, and that democratic freedoms—namely, the equality of rights of women and of national minorities—be ensured. The leftist parties saw the future of the country in the formation of a democratic republic in which the full freedom of all political organizations would be ensured without any bias.

But Khomeyni's committee proposed completely different ideas to Iran. The imam explained these ideas by saying: We consider null and void all the social and political criteria that were used until now to assess all world problems. We have created new assessments, the most important of which is Islam. [passage omitted]

Khomeyni's associates called on the Iranians to live in a Muslim society. They had propounded the slogan: Neither East nor West, but an Islamic republic.

The experience of the revolution: A glance at the past. The leftist forces were sure that the monarchy would not voluntarily give up its political rule. Every type of despotism relies on the bayonets, and despotism struggles to the end to maintain its domination. It was exactly because of this that the leftist parties adopted the policy of preparing for an armed struggle. They did not doubt that the shah's dictatorship would try to crush the revolution by force. And this is what actually happened. The Imperial Guard tried to tame the revolutionary movement, but it failed. The streets became fortifications, and the people rose for an armed struggle. Groups of Feda'iyan-e Khalq, Mojahidin-e Khalq and supporters of the Tudeh Party became the true heroes of that uprising. The price paid for the victory of the armed struggle in February [1979] was the blood shed by these heroes. They were the organizing forces and the inspiration of the armed struggles. There is no doubt about the historic services offered by the leftist parties in overthrowing Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's monarchy.

At that time Khomeyni's committee chose a completely different tactic. The demonstrators demanded: Leaders, give us arms. But the leaders were not in a hurry to answer this call. Directing armed masses is not an easy task, and apparently the leaders were afraid of them. Khomeyni's committee was pursuing a policy of setting the shah's rule aside gradually. The country was walking a tightrope at the edge of a crevice and a military uprising was possible at any moment.

The February [1979] uprising was unexpected for the imam. His men did not participate in the armed struggle. But they had previously created an interim government and they came to power after the downfall of the monarchy. Thanks to the immense credibility and popularity that he had gained, Khomeyni was placed at the head of a political pyramid. The victory that had been scored in the struggle went to Khomeyni.

Eleven years ago, the unity of Iran's various political forces ensured the victory of the revolution. They had common enemies: Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's dictatorship and the United States of America. Their outlooks and views on the country's future were not the same. But what happened in practice was that the Islamic alternative to the shah's dictatorship materialized. Other paths closed and other inclinations were destroyed and vanished from the political scene. The turn to the right could not turn back; and this is what became the tragedy of the revolution.

The way that the anti-shah movement expanded in Iran, the popular aspect of this movement, and the selflessness of the participants in this movement are truly unprecedented in postwar history; and, if the belief that Khomeyni was the founder of the revolution is correct, then the fact that the revolution created Khomeyni is more correct.

'Arafat Cited on Faltering Mideast Initiative

PM1302161590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report: "'Arafat's Position"]

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, has stated that initiatives for a peace settlement in the Middle East are "near to collapse."

Speaking on Sunday at a press conference in the capital of Iraq, he laid the blame on the United States and Israel for the deadlock that is forming. Bearing these circumstances in mind, 'Arafat noted, the PLO could take "different steps" to achieve the Palestinian movement's aims.

According to the PLO Executive Committee chairman, the possibility of changing the organization's policy was discussed at a recent meeting of the Palestinian leadership in Tunis, but any major changes in PLO policy must be approved by the Palestine National Council. 'Arafat stated that, if his efforts to establish peace in the Middle East do not bring success, he will retire.

As regards the incident of the Israeli bus tourists in Egypt, the Palestinian leader said that acts of violence, regardless of which side commits them, can only undermine peace initiatives. He added that Israel's killing of

Palestinians in Rafah (a sector of the Gaza Strip) in retaliation cannot be seen as anything other than an act of state terrorism.

TASS on Officials' Meetings With Vorontsov

Iranian Ambassador 10 Feb

LD1002154590 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov today received Iranian Ambassador to the USSR Naser Heirani-Nobari at his request.

During the meeting the sides discussed bilateral Soviet-Iranian relations and some regional issues.

Palestinian Diplomats 13 Feb

LD1302140190 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov today met a group of Palestinian diplomats who have graduated from the USSR Foreign Ministry Diplomatic Academy.

Vorontsov spoke about the Foreign Ministry's activities in implementing the ideas of new political thinking. He paid special attention to explaining the Soviet Union's approach to Middle East problems.

The participants in the meeting called for further development and strengthening of Soviet-Palestinian relations in the interests of a comprehensive Middle East settlement and a fair solution of the Palestinian problem.

The Palestinian diplomats praised the Soviet Union's foreign policy and its support for the natonal rights of the Palestinian people. The transformation of the PLO Mission in Moscow into the Embassy of the State of Palestine provides convincing proof of this support, they said.

The meeting was attended by Palestinian Ambassador in the Soviet Union Napil Amr.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gorbachev Congratulates Mandela on Release

LD1302141690 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has congratulated Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa, on his release from prison. In his message, Mikhail Gorbachev said that this long-awaited event is another manifestation of the spirit of the times, as the forces of evil and violence retreat in the face or justice and solidarity. Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed Soviet support for the just cause of the ANC and the entire movement against apartheid for a democratic South Africa.

Sorgushev on Mandela's Release, Past Support

LD1302021490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 12 Feb 90

["International Diary" commentary by Igor Sorgushev]

[Text] [Announcer] The release from prison of the acknowledged leader of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, has become an outstanding event of international significance. International organizations, heads of governments and states, political parties, and public movements from various countries regard this event as a triumph for justice and reason, a victory in the struggle for human rights, a success for the international campaign of pressure on the apartheid regime. The leaders of many countries have invited Nelson Mandela to visit them. My colleague, Igor Sorgushev, will continue the conversation on this theme:

[Sorgushev] I would single out the United States and Great Britain from among the other states that have invited the leader of the ANC to visit. This is because neither government has ever distinguished itself by its liking of the ANC, and neither Washington nor London have done anything for Mandela's release or for encouraging the positive changes that have begun in South Africa. Instead, it is indisputable that over the decades when the Pretoria regime was using violence and arbitrary rule against the opponents of apartheid, U.S. and English ruling circles cooperated actively with Pretoria, supporting it on the international arena, while condemning the ANC for armed opposition to the repressive policies of the South African authorities. Only under pressure from democratic forces within their countries, and in response to mounting criticism in the world as a whole, only in 1986 did the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and other Western countries begin to introduce trade and economic sanctions against South Africa. Moreover, these sanctions were, and remain, fairly limited.

Of course, to a certain degree, both Washington and London have recently helped cause the South African rulers start along the path of reform, taking into account the interests of the country's majority African population, which remains without rights. It is gratifying that the course of transforming South Africa into a nonracist, democratic state has now been officially declared by the South African President de Klerk, that Mandela has finally gained his freedom, and that President Bush and Prime Minister Thatcher are demonstrating their disposition to him. But what was, was; and it cannot be denied. I suppose Mandela and all those who struggled against apartheid have good memories, upon which are imprinted both the West's relation to the just cause of the Africans and the role of the Soviet Union, which has always been firmly on the side of the South African anti-racist movement and has given the ANC real support, both moral and political, as well as material, including military support.

In a word, now when the democratic forces of South Africa, headed by the ANC, have achieved their first serious successes, when Western leaders applaude its legendary leader, now given his freedom, it is appropriate to note our country's large input into the campaign of progressive mankind's solidarity with the struggle to liquidate the racism enshrined in law in South Africa. It is annoying, however, that the Soviet reaction to Mandela's release came down to just a short statement by Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate. It seems to me our country could respond on a higher level to an event, which has achieved such a wide international response.

In this regard, one involuntarily thinks about why the Soviet Union, which has done so much for the South African fighters against apartheid, has no, as far as I know, streets or squares named after Mandela. At least in our capital the name of this outstanding champion of freedom and democracy is in no way immortalized. Yet in the towns of many countries streets, parks, and squares are named in his honor. Nelson Mandela is an honorary citizen of a number of West European towns. Unfortunately, we are not seen in the best light in comparison with other states. It is a hurtful paradox for us, in my opinion. So what? All this is just a trifle on the background of our genuine all-around support for the South African anti-racist movement, someone might say. Okay, it is trifle, but it does not enhance us. Why not get change it? In general, it seems to me, it cannot be a trifle when it is a matter of expressing respect not only for an extraordinary personality, but for a symbol of the courageous struggle for justice, human dignity, and human rights, as Nelson Mandela has become for all South Africa's nonwhite citizens, all African peoples, and all the earth's upright people.

East Europe

Havel Calls for Withdrawal 'Soon as Possible'

LD1302143990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] The official visit by CSSR President Vaclav Havel to the Soviet Union will begin 26 February. This was reported at a press conference today in Prague in which the Czechoslovak head of state took part. Replying to a question on the prospects of the Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the CSSR, Havel said that the Czechoslovak public is committed to the withdrawal taking place as soon as possible. This is a matter of the stability of the state. At the same time, the Czechoslovak side is aware of the difficulties connected with the withdrawal and will strive for a mutually acceptable solution to the problem.

Romanian Officers Want Militaru To Resign

LD1302230890 Moscow TASS in English 2241 GMT 13 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Dyakov]

[Text] Bucharest February 14 TASS—"We ask no privileges for ourselves. We want the Army to be headed by competent and energetic people, people who were at our side during the revolution," a group of officers told TASS upon their arrival outside government headquarters in Victory Square.

Nearly 400 junior and senior Air Force officers, representing all Romanian Air Force units, demanded the resignations of Romanian Defence Minister Army General Nicolae Militaru, his deputy, Interior Minister Mihai Chitac and other leaders of the department, who had retired before the revolution or backed Ceausescu's dictatorship.

These people, officers said, are unable to efficiently lead the Army under present conditions in Romania, while younger high-ranking officers who were in the midst of revolutionary action, are now being pushed aside from positions of power.

They named, among others, former head of the Army Chiefs of Staff Major-General Stefan Gusa, who was sent to the provinces.

Iliescu Elected Provisional Council Chairman

LD1302221490 Moscow TASS in English 2128 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest February 14 TASS—During the evening session of the Romanian Provisional Council for National Reconciliation Ion Iliescu was elected its chairman. The session also elected an Executive Bureau with 21 members who represent 10 political parties.

Participants in the session approved commissions of the council for economic development and foreign trade, foreign policy, culture and national minorities. A proposal of one of the participants to set up a special commission to investigate into the abuse of power on the part of former leaders of the country during the dictatorship started a heated debate. The proposal was approved as a result of voting. A total of 16 commissions of the Provisional Council for National Reconciliation were created.

Some members of the council proposed to postpone the elections, but their proposal was not supported by the session.

The next session of the council will be held next week. It is planned to hear a government report on the economic situation of Romania.

Romanian Liberal Leader Botez Interviewed

PM3001143190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Volodin dispatch: "With the Liberals on Balcescu Boulevard. IZVESTIYA's Correspondent in the Headquarters of One of Romania's 'Historical Parties'"]

[Text] Bucharest—These days Bucharest resembles a stirred-up anthill. Huge lines have formed outside foodstores. Small groups of currency dealers and speculators—the "rats of the revolution," as they are called here—stand alongside cars with foreign license plates. Idle crowds fill the city's avenues and streets. Not everyone goes to work. Many people attend rallies and argue until they are hoarse. The country needs to speak out after a silence lasting more than a quarter-century. The headquarters of the newly created and revived political parties are full of people. A dense crowd has swarmed around the notices outside the residence of the National Liberal Party on Balcescu Boulevard so you cannot get near. Here are young men with the first issue of the newspaper LIBERAL with an editorial article devoted to Gorbachev.

Entrance to the Liberals, as throughout Romania now, incidentally, is free. And after wandering around the corridors for 15 minutes, I found myself in a small room one-on-one with Professor Sorin Botez, secretary of the Executive Committee and a party veteran who, back in 1947, was sentenced to 20 years of corrective labor for belonging to it. (I will at once make a proviso. A detailed assessment of the path traveled by the Romanian "historical parties," including the National Liberals, falls outside the scope of this article).

"The editorial in LIBERAL is not accidental," the professor said. "For the first time in almost 50 years the Romanian people see themselves as a friend of the Soviet people. Gorbachev's perestroyka lit the light of freedom in our home too. Regarding the party's program, it virtually repeats the main principles that came into being on its creation in the forties of the last century—the establishment of genuine freedom and democracy.

"No one can prohibit a person from freely expressing his thoughts. What we understand by democracy is the right of every citizen to select his own political position and to champion it at any level. The restoration of private ownership is the central point in the economic section of the National Liberal Party's program." Then, my interlocutor made a proviso: "Of course, we do not intend to propagandize a return to giant estates—latifundia and monopolies. But we believe that everyone has the right to private property and private initiative—and in agriculture, to land. We hope that the sacred principle of 'land to the peasants' will help us to restore Romania's agriculture destroyed by forced collectivization. Large public-sector farms will certainly remain, but still we are gambling on the individual farmer. We believe that the peasants who have been turned into workers in giant and unprofitable plants but who have never become a Romanian proletariat will begin returning to the villages. They will undoubtedly have to be helped with credits.

"In industry the National Liberal Party's program provides for the ownership of enterprises to be transferred to a wide circle of shareholders who could participate in their development and in the profits. Although the state will still retain the controlling holding of shares as a guarantee of economic stability. Communications, mines, and power stations will remain in full state ownership.

"On the political plane," S. Botez continued, "our party deems it necessary to observe all the obligations stemming from Romania's membership of the Warsaw Pact Organization. We intend to strengthen ties with our true friends and historical allies, which include Russia. We have repeatedly acted shoulder to shoulder."

"But what about the restoration of royal power?" I could not restrain myself from asking a question which is now being puffed up in the West. An abrupt reply followed:

"This idea has nothing to do with us. Three young people calling themselves 'liberals' appeared on television with a proposal to restore the monarchy. I can assure you that they represented only themselves. We respect ex-King Mihai as a patriot and democrat, but the National Liberal Party has never raised the question of restoring him to the throne. The television appearance did us serious harm. As far as I know, the gentlemen who used the name 'liberals' have not registered or even attempted to register with the party. For us they are just a phantom, but one which has succeeded in antagonizing many people who wished to join our ranks."

I discussed many things with the Liberal Party veteran who paid for his convictions with long years of forced labor. Of course, we touched on the heyday of Stalinism in the forties and the recent demonstration in which "Without the Russians!" was chanted in front of the residence of Romania's interim government.

"Most likely it was a group of provocateurs," S. Botez believes. "I do not rule out the fact that such an outburst might have been the consequence of a small mistake which Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front Council, made after a telephone conversation with Gorbachev. He reported this with such joy in a television program (I think this would inevitably have happened to me, too, if I had spoken with Mikhail Sergeyevich) that he involuntarily provoked a backlash from those who do not understand the significance of perestroyka. Inertia came into play: 'The Russians planted this too.' It is my opinion that the Russians are our allies. The light is now really coming to us from the East. Not like after the war: I remember the totally falsified 1946 elections. I know what role Vyshinskiy, who was then Stalin's emissary in Romania, played in them.

"However, let's not leaf through the black pages of our history. I am a pedagogue by profession, and I am an admirer of great Russian literature. For long years I experienced a sense of bitterness on seeing that there was little interest in the Russian classics in our country. And yet it is hard to imagine a greater humanist and democrat than Chekhov. Let's return to panhuman values: to Chekhov, Dostoyevski, Mussorgsky. Let's seek that which traditionally unites the Romanian and Russian peoples and all the peoples of the Soviet Union. For we have together to build the 'common European home' and together to travel the road of freedom."

"How do you see the future Romania?"

"I believe that it will be a presidential, parliamentary republic with a coalition government formed on the basis of representation of various parties. I believe, as a Liberal, that a place will be found for a left wing in the overall political chorus. But, first of all, the old Romanian Communist Party must be disbanded by its own congress, and not everyone has been in a hurry to burn his party card. In my view, this is the only possibility of saving the communist movement in our country, by dissociating ourselves from those monstrous forces which have not only hidden behind its name but were also born within the party."

Moldavian Secretary on Ties to Romania

90UN0763A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Jan 90 p 1

[Report on interview with P.K. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, by unidentified ATEM correspondent; place and date not given: "Soviet Moldavia Supports Active All-Around Cooperation With Romania"]

[Text] The working people of Soviet Moldavia are following closely the processes of the renewal of life occurring in Romania. In connection with the visit to the fraternal country by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, which is just getting under way, an ATEM correspondent met with P.K. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. We are publishing a transcript of the discussion.

[Correspondent] Petr Kirillovich, the world is so ordered that good neighbors cannot live without mutual assistance and cooperation. Not the least place in the USSR foreign minister's negotiations with the Romanian leadership will undoubtedly be occupied by questions of the expansion and strengthening of mutual relations between the two countries. How do you see the role of Soviet Moldavia in the context of the USSR's further cooperation with Romania?

[Luchinskiy] A friend in need, as the ancients used to say, is a friend indeed. Proceeding from this principle, the working people of the republic, like all Soviet people, immediately extended a helping hand to the Romanian people when they rose up against the bankrupt totalitarian Ceausescu regime. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers' statement adopted during that period of time in December emphasized directly and unequivocally solidarity with the just struggle of the Romanian people and expressed support for the measures pertaining to the country's democratic renewal. They were and continue to be given the necessary material and medical assistance.

The Moldavian and Romanian peoples have, as you know, much in common—historical roots, culture, language, and family ties. For this reason the republic's working people always have been interested in a broadening of ties to the neighbor country. However, they have not in the past 20 years been properly developed, more, they have been artificially held back not only by the Romanian side but by the former leadership of the republic also. The level of these relations undoubtedly does not correspond to today's requirements.

In this connection, prior to E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Romania we expressed our expectations pertaining to the establishment of direct and comprehensive relations between the Moldavian SSR and Romania. In advancing them we proceeded from the fact that the implementation of perestroyka in the USSR, the establishment in international relations of the principles of the new political thinking, the recognition by the peoples of the need for the building of a common European home, and also the changes occurring in Romania are creating the most propitious conditions for this. The community of the republic at large also aspires to a "defrosting" of relations and a stimulation of the relations of the Moldavian SSR and Romania, to which numerous proposals testify.

For the purpose of expanding diverse relations and creating a propitious climate in relations between the Moldavian SSR and Romania we proposed a considerable simplification of the procedure of the crossing of the state border, lifting the current restrictions here. The opening of consular establishments of the Moldavian SSR and Romania in the cities of Kishinev and Iasi respectively would contribute to this also.

The realization of this set of measures that we have specified would contribute not only to the expansion but, primarily, the enrichment of the whole spectrum of relations between the fraternal peoples. At the same time, while endeavoring to ensure that our relations are multifaceted, we must undoubtedly proceed, as the Helsinki agreements emphasize, from the realities of the postwar times on the European continent. This principle is now, as you know, winning the increasingly warm support of the world community.

[Correspondent] The strength of ties between countries is determined primarily by economic relations. What prospects do you see in this sphere?

[Luchinskiy] Although we lack experience of extensive relations in the economic sphere, their expansion would, I believe, contribute to a significant enhancement of the well-being of both the Moldavian and Romanian peoples. It is important to find forms of mutually profitable cooperation and make them more diverse. Initially we could take the path of creating joint ventures in the area of the agro-industrial complex, light industry, instrument making, construction, and trade. The main thing is taking the first step, and then the work itself will show in what direction to progress further.

[Correspondent] You have emphasized that the Moldavian and Romanian peoples have much in common. This makes urgent the need for an expansion of humanitarian cooperation....

[Luchinskiy] Of course. Without relations in the humanitarian sphere, cooperation with any country would be incomplete. But when it is a question of peoples with so much in common, a broadening of contacts is simply essential. An impoverishment of the spiritual culture of both peoples would be inevitable without this. This is why we have proposed a large set of measures providing for the establishment of relations between the Moldavian SSR and Romania in the sphere of science, education, culture, and information. These include an expansion of the stimulation of cooperation and direct ties of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences and higher educational institutions of the republic, sectorial research institutes, and artistic unions with their Romanian counterparts; the reciprocal exchange of lecturers, students, theatrical performances, artistic exhibitions, and motion pictures; bilateral cooperation between press organs; and so forth. There could be many forms of such cooperation, if both parties are interested, and it is important to infuse them with life.

Reality will undoubtedly make adjustments to our ideas. For this reason the specific study of the entire set of questions of cooperation could, we believe, be undertaken at a bilateral meeting of representatives of the Moldavian SSR and Romania.

The common European home is today being erected by all peoples of the continent. And it is our duty to make our contribution to this immense construction project.

Moldavia, Romania Hold Cooperation Talks

LD1102163190 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 p 3

[Text] A wide range of matters involving cooperation between leading ministries and departments of Moldavia and Romania was discussed during bilateral talks which took place on from 15 to 18 January in Bucharest. A delegation of experts from our republic which was led by N.I. Dudeu, deputy chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Planning Committee was received by Petru Roman, the Romanian premier who has spoken in positive terms about the talks which took place and has offered warm thanks for the help and support given to revolutionary Romania by the Moldavian people and all other peoples of the USSR.

During the business meetings, the two sides discussed the current state of political, economic, and cultural ties between the two republics and outlined specific areas in which they are to develop in the very near future. Ways and means to implement the accords which have been achieved were mapped out. Our correspondent met S.E. Lazarev, Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic deputy foreign minister and a member of the Moldavian delegation, who talked about certain aspects covered by the talks.

Lazarev said: The main task of this meeting, which took place at the invitation of the Romanian side and was held at the level of deputy ministers and deputy chairmen of Moldavian and Romanian state committees, was to discuss the whole range of issues involved in direct cooperation between our two republics. Right from the outset the two sides stressed that Soviet-Romanian relations will continue to develop. Of late exceptionally favorable opportunities for expanding direct business ties between Moldavia and Romania have appeared within the framework of these relations. These are explained by several common historical, cultural, ethnic, and economic factors, by the fact that the territories are neighbors, and by other things.

There was a time when the development of these relations was artificially adhered to by both sides and basically consisted of making declarations, although Soviet Moldavia has perhaps been more active in Soviet-Romanian cooperation than other republics.

Our Romanian friends share our opinion that the process of perestroyka in the USSR and the revolutionary transformations in the life of their country now open up every opportunity for specific cooperation, and they are ready to cooperate with Moldavia in virtually all areas.

During the visit we saw with our own eyes the consequences of December's events and visited many places where young patriots died. To this day there are still candles burning day and night there; fresh flowers are placed there; and the loved ones of the fallen gather there. We saw many signs of the atrocities perpetrated by supporters of the ousted regime. Against this generally sad background, it was with special poignancy that we felt the kindly feelings of Romania toward the people of Moldavia and the entire Soviet people. Everywhere we went our hospitable hosts stressed that to them we are good friends and they are grateful to as for our help and support at a difficult time for the revolution.

The members of our delegation did much of their work separately in "their own" departments. I think that my colleagues will have more detailed articles in the press describing the results they achieved. Allow me to dwell on consular and other diplomatic matters which curently are much on the mind of many people in our republic.

At meetings at the department for links with the Soviet Union and at the consular directorate of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, as well as in talks with the foreign minister and his deputy, the question of simplifying procedures for crossing the state frontier between the two countries was actively discussed. This procedure is still handled in accordance with the Soviet-Romanian agreement of 1985, according to which there is a simplified procedure for crossing only for people living in the area adjacent to the frontier. The two sides agreed that this document is out of date and has ceased to accord with present realities. Moscow too is in agreement with this. It is actively helping to find a very rapid solution to this issue, for it is a matter of the Soviet state frontier.

It was proposed that the simplified procedure for crossing the frontier should be extended to the whole of Moldavia and Romania, and that there should be a review of the old "tradition" of trips being allowed only on invitation and of privileges being for relatives only. We consider that the time has come for any citizen of the USSR who wants to visit Romania for any reason to be able to have his passport stamped and travel unhindered. The question of duty visits has already been resolved: The USSR Foreign Ministry issues a passport immediately when there is an urgent need. This can be done within an hour.

Now a little more detail about private visits. The Soviet Union has prepared a draft agreement between the USSR and Romania about conditions for reciprocal trips by citizens of both states. In particular this draft envisages eliminating all artificial obstacles to visits by Soviet citizens to Romania and by Romanians to the Soviet Union. Of course the talks considered the probability of a situation arising when both sides might be flooded with such a rush of visitors that they simply could not cope. This involves transport, hotel, currency, and other considerations. Therefore the only real obstacle in the operation of the future agreement as regards such trips will perhaps be the two sides' own capacity to receive visitors.

This agreement cannot be put forward for immediate signing because it has to be linked to the Law on Entering and Leaving the USSR, now being prepared. Its draft has already gone through its first reading at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is expected that the law will be adopted at the next session, sometime in April. We have agreed that immediatley after that the draft agreement will be preented to the Romanian side for joint examination and signing. Incidentally, it embraces virtually all the Moldavian proposals put to the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Moldavia is very concerned to see that it should be made as easy as possible straight away for people living here to go to Romania on private visits. In connection with this, we have made a proposal to the central authorities on eliminating the current obstacles to such trips. We have every reason to hope that even before the above mentioned documents are adopted in May it will be considerably easier for citizens of our two republics to cross the frontier.

In view of future extensive ties and active cooperation with Romania, during the talks we proposed an exchange of consular offices in the towns of Kishinev and Iasi. Our friends agreed to this. The next joint step will be to work out the status of this representation, to define the consular area and the staff establishment for both sides, to settle the matter of premises, and to sign the relevant agreements.

We also agreed that there will be constant working consultations on all matters arising between the Moldavian and Romanian foreign ministries. This is absolutely necessary because of the preparations now under way to conclude an agreement between the governments of our two republics defining all areas of direct cooperation between Moldavia and Romania. But even before this comes into force, the working protocols which were signed by members of our delegation in Bucharest on cooperation between relevant ministries, departments, and enterprises will come into effect and start to be implemented. Their implementation will be coordinated by a joint working group which will meet alternately in Kishinev and Bucharest. Its first meeting is due to take place in Kishinev on 15 March.

Falin Comments on German Reunification Question

AU1202142890 East Belin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 90 p 6

[Interview with Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, by Rolf Guenther in Berlin on 8 February: "Balance of Security—Core of the German Question"]

[Text] [Guenther] Comrade Falin, the German question has recently emerged at the top of the agenda of international politics. Are you, as an expert on Germany, surprised by this dynamism?

[Falin] If we think in the long term, it was only a question of time when the hour would come. It has always been clear that a situation has to be brought about where the people do not carry the burdens of the past anymore despite all developments during and after the war, where they finally feel that the time of peace has come, and everyone has the right to enjoy the fruits of this time.

Basically, this was clear on the day the Basic Treaty was signed between the GDR and the FRG in 1973. But I think that in the GDR, this treaty was implemented in such a restrictive way that the chances that existed for renewing the relations between the two German states and that existed in the GDR itself could not be used in the optimum form, if at all. Many things can be explained by this, and this created this excessive pressure in the end.

What Caused the New Development?

What caused today's development? I think it is the overall restructuring of international relations. The policy of strength is dying in the long run. Today the factor of force does not play the role in international relations that it played 15, 20, or 30 years ago. And here in Europe, force is to be made impossible for all times, otherwise our continent does not have any future, any chance.

If we think in this way, we need such a stable and still-dynamic development which offers more security, more trust, and more prosperity with every step to all people, regardless of their nationality.

If we assess today's events from this viewpoint, then this is not a danger but a good chance. If all of Europe and all of Germany become a factor of stability, neither the Germans nor all nations in Europe, including the Soviet Union, can reject such a development, in my view.

Thus, the credibility of any policy at present is measured by the extent to which the declarations and the assurances, which are so abundant today, really bring about the renewal of state philosophy, including the military one.

[Guenther] The position of the USSR on German unity has undergone a fundamental change in many people's opinion....

[Falin] Change in which respect? If you mean tactical changes....

[Guenther] For instance, concerning the time frame....

[Falin] Comrade Gorbachev has already given a specific answer to this. What was rather a political question for us, and also for the Western powers and the Germans themselves, a few months ago has today become a question of practical policy. We, as a sober and responsible power, which is acting in a balanced way, should take note of this and draw conclusions from this new objectiveness. And these conclusion have been drawn.

[Guenther] The Soviet Union has important legitimate interests concerning the solution of the German question....

[Falin] World War II cost us more than 26 million dead, and that is only the dead. This tragedy will never be forgotten in the Soviet Union. If someone thinks differently, he does not understand the significance of what happened at that time. But—and this is a national characteristic of the Russians—we are not geared to revenge. We have never thought in this way. We have never acted in this way in politics.

Unfortunately, many things have been forgotten, in particular by the public, namely that the first of our proposals after the war were: all-German administration, all-Germany economy, all-German parties, trade unions, and other such democratic institutions which should and could make sure that this country develops in a uniform and homogeneous way and as a democratic country. What was the answer by the French, the Americans, or the British? A clear "no." This was the logic of confrontation, a logic of a battle to the death. And this logic distorted many things—if not everything—in the development.

What do we want today? Our proposal that all foreign troops should leave the states where they are stationed is still valid. We in the Soviet Union do not need a military presence either in a Germany of two states or in a united Germany. The presence of such troops is a remnant of the cold war. Time is working against this old way of military thinking.

Until now, the balance of security is the main issue of the German question, not so much the state form of unification. The decisive thing is to what extent this process for reunification or new unification is compatible with the security interests of all nations in Europe, including the security interests of the Germans themselves.

The answer to this question simultaneously is the answer to the question of whether one wants this unity or not. Those who are against the balance in security questions are against German unity because they are against partnership concerning security questions in Europe. Without this partnership in security issues, a pan-European home and a pan-European peace system will be impossible.

The Important Things Are the Real Goals, Not Slogans

With regard to how the goals will finally be reached, which steps one needs, and in which forms this will be done, we are very flexible and ready for consensus. But we do not want that the territory of the two German states or of the united Germany is exploited for military goals, for goals involving military attacks, even if they are presented as goals involving defense toward the outside. We do not need abstract legal guarantees, but guarantees as the United States, France, and Great Britain claim for their own security.

[Guenther] On the topic of guarantees for security. Western politicians are currently broaching many ideas concerning the place of a united Germany in Europe's military-political structure: Full membership in NATO or four-power status of the GDR territory and others....

[Falin] Yes, such plans are discussed. Some plans seem to be the products of thoughts during former "cold" epochs. But we know precisely where there is interest in jointly having a common quality of security in the common home or whether goals are to be achieved directly or indirectly, which practically were the goals of the cold war. The important things are the real goals, not the words. By the way: Some slogans today are intended to impress the masses in this situation, in particular the demonstrators in the streets.

[Guenther] How do you think one can ensure that the movement toward a secure common European home and toward Germany unity take place in a synchronous way and not against each other?

[Falin] This is precisely the central idea. One needs this synchronization so that the Germans do not have natural strivings to overcome the remnants of this tragic event—

in particular as regards human relations—in contradiction to the basic trend of the European development. But this need not be understood in such a literal way: First one step here, then one step there. One can imagine that steps in the German area entail European development, because Germany's example is of particular significance for the entire European development. If such a step in the German area is positive and constructive in this sense, then the Soviet Government, the CPSU, would welcome it. But if it is based on narrow, national, that is, nationalist, values—in contrast to European interests—this would worry not only the Soviet Union but also other states in Europe.

Both German states can give strong stimuli to the all-European development. On their territories are nuclear weapons with a great destructive power. If the situation has changed in this way—what do we need them for?

If here in Germany, on the territory of the two German states, there are no potentials for wars of destruction, the climate in Europe will be much more favorable for the individuals and for the peoples.

[Guenther] One word on Modrow's concept. In fact, it is surprising that the Western side has so vehemently rejected the idea of neutrality for a future united German state—which was intended as a premise for discussion.

[Falin] Modrow's concept is a very serious basis for serious thought—in the West and the East. Not everything in this concept is very clear for us; we have certain nuances, and Comrade Shevardnadze has expressed this. But this precipitate reaction in the West is a sign for me that, as in the past, the politicians there are unwilling to respect the interests of the other nations and states in the necessary way.

The Responsibility of the Four Powers Exists

My personal expression is: The reasons for this reaction are not so much political considerations but, much more, military ones. If one approached the problem in a political way, one would have to note that, on principle, national armed forces will not be necessary in the long run.

[Guenther] Are their any contacts and discussions about the developments in the German question among the four victorious powers of World War II?

[Falin] There are bilateral contacts. At the moment, Mr. Baker is in Moscow, and this topic has not been excluded. We are in contact with President Mitterrand and Mrs. Thatcher. This is normal. Because the postwar chapter is not over, a peace treaty has not been signed. The responsibility exists; it is the currently valid law. Therefore, we need agreement in order to at least try to prevent wrong developments which might lead to dangerous complications later on. We need that, above all, so as to make sure that the entire development between the two German states in the center of Europe is in harmony with the development in the larger geographic and social framework, in the—if you like—constellations of West-East, North-South. Everything must be used which enables us to make good steps forward.

West Europe

Medvedev Concludes Visit to Great Britain

Meets Labour Party's Kinnock

LD1302144190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] London, 13 Feb (TASS)—A meeting took place today between V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and N. Kinnock, leader of the British Labour Party.

In the course of the conversation, V.A. Medvedev gave a detailed account of the results of the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and of the CPSU Central Committee platform it adopted for the 28th CPSU Congress, which provides for the radical renewal of Soviet society. A broad range of international problems was discussed, including matters relating to European security and cooperation.

Issues were touched upon concerning the development of relations between the CPSU and sociodemocratic, socialist, and labor parties, and the invigoration of the dialogue between them, which would promote further improvement in international understanding and cooperation.

Taking part in the conversation was USSR Ambassador to Great Britain L.M. Zamyatin.

Sees Peaceful Relations Ahead

LD1302183190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1702 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Vadim Medvedev, USSR people's deputy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, returned this evening to Moscow from Great Britain. The delegation was on an official visit there from 7-13 February. The Soviet delegation was pursuing the objective of conducting an in-depth analysis of trends in world politics.

As Vadim Medvedev declared in a TASS interview during his stay in Great Britain that, for the Soviet delegation, "It was important precisely today, at a crucial stage in history, to 'check watches' with a major European power and see where we can extend interaction over questions on the solution of which depends the future of human civilization."

The Soviet delegation distributed a statement at a London news conference. The statement noted that the discussions that took place with the British leadership, and primarily with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and with British parliamentarians, confirmed the principle-based community of views on the nature of international processes and the need to deepen their positive dynamic. The document also stressed a conviction in the historical justification and common conclusion that the protracted period of the "cold war" is giving way to a peaceful stage of international relations—a stage in which an appreciable place will undoubtedly belong to the USSR and Great Britain. It was agreed that such would be the content of the bilateral contacts scheduled for this year, among which is also a new Soviet-British summit meeting.

During the visit, Vadim Medvedev spoke on conceptual aspects of perestroyka in one of the oldest, most authoritative centers of world political research—London's Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Gives Interview, Departs 13 Feb

LD1302214590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1835 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] London, 13 Feb (TASS)—V.A. Medvedev, USSR people's deputy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, and head of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation which has been here at the invitation of the British group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, today gave an interview to a group of Soviet journalists.

Question: You came to Great Britain immediately after the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and, judging from the materials in the British press, this provoked additional interest in the delegation. What can you say about the reaction of the British—those whom you met—to the plenum?

Answer: This fact was noted in the course of practically all the meetings. Information about our internal political affairs, about the plenum, about perestroyka overall, was received with special attention. These subjects dominated all our meetings, talks, and conversations. And I must say that we did not come up against a single display of malevolence toward the processes of perestroyka or to the plenum. From this, certainly, one cannot draw the conclusion that such attitudes do not exist here at all. But at any rate, at the meetings with us, sincere interest was displayed, not just curiosity but the expression of interest that the process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union should move along the road that has been mapped out. Probably not everyone invests the concept of "perestroyka" with the same content and not everyone attaches the same expectations to it, but the fact remains: the interest is universal.

Question: Despite the party differences?

Answer: Regardless of party affiliation. I think this is not hard to explain: There is a desire for relations in the world to change, for the role of the Soviet Union in the international community to change. Yes, as a matter of fact, we also hope to enter in the world community more fully and organically on academic, political, and cultural levels, as well as in the legal respect.

Question: What is the main result of the current visit?

Reply: I think it is a positive result. We will have something to report to the Supreme Soviet and to our public. Apart from the main subject, which we have already discussed, there was a broad discussion of the most important and acute international problems, including European ones, connected with the creation of a common European home. It is clear that the most acute issue at the present time is the German question, and moves are being made rapidly in terms of this question. The British public is showing a very keen interest in these problems, and the overall feeling is that this issue and process has to be approached in a very balanced manner, taking into account the interests of all peoples—not only the feelings that are taking shape in both parts of Germany, but also the interests and the role of the primary victors in World War II, as well as the interests of the whole of Europe. Memories of world war II are quite vivid in Great Britain, and of course, the German problem gives rise to a complex gamut of feelings here, although of course, one cannot fail to take account of the realities of the present day. But one should act in such a way that contacts might proceed at all levels, that this process might be definitely influenced by and linked with the common European situation, with the Helsinki process, and with the establishment of normal, good-neighborly relations.

Question: Can one say that in this matter the positions of the Soviet Union and Great Britain are close or even similar?

Reply: There are, in any case, many common points of contact. This also came out in the conversation with Prime Minister Thatcher, with Deputy Prime Minister Howe, Foreign Secretary Hurd, and British parliamentarians. There are many points of contact for entirely understandable reasons. For our two powers are European powers, on which a very great deal depends in the European home.

Question: You met parliamentarians, leaders of Parliament, and you acquainted yourself, as best as possible, with the working experience of the House of Commons and its committees, and you discussed the development of cooperation between our parliaments. What are your impressions?

Answer: Yes, there was a very fruitful exchange of views at various levels—with both British parliamentarians and the speaker of the House of Commons. Detailed conversations were also held in that chamber's Foreign Affairs Committee. We saw for ourselves that there is very much that is interesting and, I believe, useful for us in the British Parliament's work. Not in the sense that something can be taken out and mechanically transplanted into our organism. That is hard to imagine. But some sort of experience, I believe, merits great attention:

the actual organization of the British Parliament's work—for example, the role of speaker of the house.

Question: We don't have a similar post, do we?

Answer: Perhaps this matter should be discussed in connection with the changes that are proposed for the structure of the supreme bodies of state power and for the rights and powers of the head of state. Possibly, the role of the chairman of the chamber will be discussed and examined in a new way.

Question: You met various people, not just members of Parliament but also businessmen, financiers, bankers and industrialists. What are your impressions of your conversations with them?

Answer: That was also an interesting and instructive part of the visit. We acquainted ourselves in a fairly detailed manner with the work of one of the factories of the British steel company, British Steel. One day of our stay was devoted almost totally to contacts with financial circles in the city. I now have a clearer impression of how much can be extracted from that sphere: The organization of financial relations, the financial market, banking and insurance here can be applied mechanically to our economy, but if we approach the matter intelligently, very much that is useful can be derived.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation also left for home today. It was seen off at Heathrow Airport by W. Waldegrave, Great Britain's minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, other officials, and L.M. Zamyatin, the USSR's ambassador to Great Britain.

Belgium's Defense Minister Coeme Ends Visit

Holds News Conference 10 Feb

LD1302181590 Moscow International Service in French 1800 GMT 11 Feb 90

["Extracts" from remarks by Belgian Defense Minister Guy Coeme at a Moscow news conference on 10 February during his official visit to the USSR upon the invitation of Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov—recorded]

[Text] I should like to recall that the aim was to establish a structured military dialogue between our two countries, and that, in the atmosphere of past confrontation, we were able to find the strength to go forward to a climate of detente, based on cooperation and, of course, dialogue. The Soviet side and the Belgian side were able to stress the importance of military contacts to improve the situation in Europe and to strengthen trust and mutual understanding.

We think that military links must contribute to the policy of security and cooperation on the European continent. Our talks allowed similar positions of various parties to emerge, in particular in terms of the total rejection of the use of force, the end of the arms race, and respect for the principle of the nonviolation of borders and the territorial integrity of states. We stress that the success of the Vienna talks on conventional weapons and the success of new measures of confidence will constitute a big step on the road to the reduction of armed confrontation and on the road to stability in Europe.

My colleague, General Yazov, and I are satisfied with the results of the talks and we express our conviction of the usefulness of such a dialogue. Specific questions on contacts between the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and of the Kingdom of Belgium were examined and they refer, in particular, to a period of two years.

In this respect I can tell you that for this year, 1990, there will be a visit to Belgium by an army delegation from the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union.

Second, there will be a visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation from the Royal Higher Defense Institute. There also will be a visit to the Soviet Union of a group of Belgian experts who are specialists in disarmament and security in Europe. Also this year there will be a visit to Belgium by a team of Soviet athletes from the military.

In 1991 reciprocal visits to those visits I have just announced to you will take place, and I would add that visits by Belgian ships to the Soviet Union, with reciprocal visits by Soviet ships to Belgium, are envisaged.

We have proposed the accreditation of a Belgian military attache to the Belgian Embassy in Moscow, a decision which was approved by the Soviet side. For those who were not present, I would remind you that I made a speech and replied to the questions of people's deputies of the Soviet Union. These were members of the committees of the Supreme Soviet for questions of defense and state security. This is the first time that a Westerner was able to address such a gathering, and the symbolic nature of this is clear.

We visited various combat units in the Moscow region, as well as meeting with specialists from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences.

Finally, I would like to tell you that I have invited my colleague, the minister, Gen. Yazov, to visit Belgium soon. This invitation was accepted by my colleague, Gen. Yazov. The timing, the date for the visit, will be specified through diplomatic channels.

I shall give some details and make a number of comments on this visit, which was obviously marked by great frankness, great trust, and I believe, very warm talks with the various people to which we spoke. We discussed a number of problems, which I shall summarize.

First of all was the question of German reunification. This question was brought up by several of those people we talked to and in a way which seemed to show a rather emotional reaction from several of them. Clearly, reunification gives rise to concern in the Soviet Union, but its achievement does not seem to be disputed. I have been able to realize that what is internal to German reunification concerns the Germans, but those we talked to stress the need to obtain guarantees of security, and this concerns other countries. There is probably no solution which is intellectually and politically satisfactory today, because of the existence of the two pacts, that of the Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact, and we cannot see today which solution might emerge. In any case, for those I have talked to, the two alliances, or, rather, the two countries, the two countries together as one in the Atlantic alliance, is seen as unacceptable. Regarding neutrality, this seems to us to be impossible. I spoke as clearly as possible on this subject, but I was able to see that this solution could also give rise to a number of fears on the Soviet side—whence the need to seek a midway solution.

Spends Time in Leningrad

LD1302042790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1749 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Leningrad, 12 February (TASS)—Guy Coeme, Belgian minister of national defense, spent the last three days of his stay in the USSR in Leningrad. Last Sunday [11 February] the guest was acquainted with the city's sights.

At the Piskarevsiy Memorial Cemetery he honored the memory of the more than half a million inhabitants and soldiers who fell defending the city during the blockade. He laid a wreath. The minister then viewed the Hermitage collection and made a trip to Petrodvorets, a suburb of Leningrad.

This morning Guy Coeme and those accompanying him visited the Naval Academy named after Marshal of the Soviet Union Andrey Grechko, where he was aquainted with the training of commanders, as well as with the changes which have taken place in recent years in connection with the Soviet Union's declared orientation towards a defensive doctrine.

The minister also made a trip to the Baltic Works, an association specializing in the construction of modern vessels.

In an interview for a TASS correspondent, Guy Coeme noted he regards his visit to the USSR as one of the steps toward the renewal of cooperation between the two countries, which will make it possible to make progress in the work of srengthening confidence in Europe. The minister stressed his talks with his Soviet colleague, Army General Dmitriy Yazov, took place in the spirit of frankness and mutual understanding. Evidence of this is the achievement of an accord on the exchange of detachments of warships from the navies of the Soviet Union and Belgium, planned for next year.

This evening Guy Coeme left for his home country. He was seen off at Pulkovo Airport by Army General Mikhail Sorokin, USSR deputy minister of Defense and Colonel General Viktor Yermakov, Leningrad Military District troops commander.

Among those seeing him off was Luc Putman, Belgian ambassador to the USSR.

Comments on Yazov Talks

LD1302105290 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Leningrad February 13 TASS—Talks with Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, involving Soviet and Belgian chiefs of staff, herald a new stage in military contacts between the two countries, Belgian Defence Minister Guy Coeme told TASS late on Monday.

Differences on some issues had little effect on the atmosphere of frankness and trust during the talks, the minister said on completing his Soviet tour.

Soviet-Belgian military contacts will help improve the situation in Europe and serve to promote trust and understanding between European states, Coeme said.

Military contacts promote European security and cooperation and its reflection in national military doctrines, he added.

"We discussed contacts beween the Soviet and Belgian armed forces for the near future," Coeme said.

Latin America & Caribbean

Delays in Cuban Grain Shipments Questioned

LD2601165890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] As has been reported, prices of certain foodstuffs are being raised in Cuba and at the same time the levels of bread consumption are being reduced. An announcement by the Executive Committee of the Republic's Council of Ministers says that this has occurred because, as of yet, Cuba has not received the grain and flour from the USSR scheduled for January this year.

Our correspondent Aleksey Kalachov contacted the Soviet-Cuban intergovernmental commission in Moscow and here is what Vladimir Dmitriyevich Venediktov, executive secretary of the Soviet section of the commission, had to say in a telephone conversation regarding the above information.

[Begin recording] [Venediktov] In accordance with the practice for almost 20 years, now the USSR, at the request of the Cuban side in December, has been dispatching to Cuba a quantity of foodstuffs and other goods in very small amounts—perhaps 1 percent, or 1.5 percent maximum—as an advance on its deliveries for the coming year. This year in December we were due to deliver 50,000 tonnes of wheat and 20,000 tonnes of wheat flour to the Cuban side on the instructions of the government. This year the advance deliveries were not fulfilled as they have been in previous years. Well, why was this? First, the maritime fleet has been experiencing great difficulties and great write-offs and has had a shortage of money to charter ships as a whole around the country. It needed currency and there was none. This is why the advance deliveries were not dispatched to Cuba in good time. Measures have now been drawn up so that all the commitments for the delivery of grain crops, flour, and other foodstuffs in 1990 will be definitely fulfilled.

[Kalachov] Does this mean that the ships carrying grain and flour that was scheduled for Cuba have been dispatched from the USSR?

[Venediktov] They have been dispatched from the USSR and also from other countries. We are purchasing grain in Canada and part of the grain in Europe. It is my deep conviction that this situation in Cuba is a temporary one, and I think that in the very near future the situation will return to normal with deliveries of both grain and flour. That is to say, we shall honorably and conscientiously fulfill the commitments that the Soviet side has undertaken.

[Kalachov] Another question: For 20 years, these deliveries have been carried out on a regular basis and the mechanism is well practiced. Tell me then why in 1988, last year, was there a holdup in December?

[Venediktov] According to the explanation given me by the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, Eksportkhleb applied to the ministry too late. [end recording]

[Kalachov] My next telephone call was to the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet. Who is responsible for wheat cargoes going to Cuba? This question was answered by Ivan Yefimovich Pavlenko, deputy head of Glavflota, the organization that is engaged on maritime deliveries abroad including to Cuba.

[Begin recording] [Pavlenko] The all-union association Eksportkhleb is in charge of these cargoes, and when we carry grain or flour we work in accordance with the requests of that association. The Ministry of the Maritime Fleet did not receive any such request from Eksportkhleb for the month of December.

[Kalachov] We have received a further report that says that in December last year and this January Cuban exports of citrus fruits have suffered because of a lack of ships, mainly from the USSR, which under existing accords should have been located in Cuban ports. What can you say about this information?

[Pavlenko] I am not ready to comment on the situation regarding citrus fruit. It needs to be checked. [end recording]

[Kalachov] Okay, then, the ministry, through Comrade Pavlenko, promised to clarify the picture regarding citrus fruit in the very near future.

Meanwhile I continued my telephone calls in respect of the deliveries of grain and flour to Cuba. My interlocutor this time was Oleg Aleksandrovich Klimov, chairman of the Eksportkhleb association.

[Begin recording] [Kalachov] According to my information, the delay with the deliveries occurred because the request arrived too late from your organization, Oleg Aleksandrovich. Was that not so?

[Klimov] Absolutely not. In general we do not submit any requests. The Cubans have normally selected these goods over 10 months. Then at the end of each year they have asked for an advance for the following year.

[Kalachov] Why then has such a dispute arisen this year?

[Klimov] I consider, for instance, that the delay occurred because the decision in respect of the advance was not made in good time.

[Kalachov] Who then made the decisions in respect of the advance?

[Klimov] This is not a question for me. It is for the commission; it could answer you.

[Kalachov] Well, could you give an opinion about who makes the decision?

[Klimov] As an association we receive all our instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, to which we are subordinated in this respect.

[Kalachov] So, the decision on deliveries is also made there, I understand.

[Klimov] No, it is not the ministry. It is for the ministry to tell you where they get their instructions from. They get them from somewhere else. [end recording]

[Kalachov] Thus ended this attempt to clarify how the affair of the holdup in the deliveries of grain and flour from the USSR to Cuba began, although the main thing is clear; namely, there has been a whole chain of poor liaison between departments which has intensified the objective difficulties. As a result the Cuban Government has decided hastily to purchase the food produce somewhere else for currency.

I should like to round off this report by citing what a PRAVDA article said on this issue. Both we and the Cubans still lack efficiency in our joint work and planning. Often there is a lack of effectiveness and organizaiton and at times imply the technique of meeting commitments. At the present time, it seems, there is no sense in accusing any one of the sides of every kind of shortcomings, defects and omissions. it is merely necessary to draw conclusions and not to repeat mistakes.

Supreme Soviet Session

Gorbachev Opens 14 Feb Supreme Soviet Session

LD1402072190 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 14 Feb 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—The Third Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet opened in the Kremlin today. It will discuss several important issues, including the holding of a special session of the Congress of People's Deputies.

The session was opened by President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev.

Moscow Media Airs Supreme Soviet Opening Session

Delegates Assemble; Quorum Declared

LD1402071590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0657 GMT on 14 February begin a live relay of the Supreme Soviet opening session in the Kremlin in Moscow. Delegates are shown assembling in the conference hall.

At 0704 GMT Gorbachev, Lukyanov, Nishanov, and Primakov take their places on the platform.

At 0705 GMT, Gorbachev wishes delegates a good day and asks them to register: 434 delegates are shown present. Gorbachev says the necessary quorum is present.

Gorbachev states the present session goes far beyond the bounds of a usual parliamentary session and lays a great responsibility upon all delegates. The situation in which the session is beginning is a complex one. The course toward social renewal has accelerated developments in the country; there is dissatisfaction with the rate at which perestroyka processes are proceeding and with the situation in the market. It is vital to strengthen discipline. Rapid and decisive actions are essential, especially in the economic sphere. This demands hard work on the part of all, he adds.

Gorbachev Opening Speech Continues

LD1402074590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue their live relay of the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 0708 GMT Gorbachev says that progress in economic renewal is too slow and that monopolies by group interests is not being overcome rapidly enough. Cooperation between all levels is essential, he notes, adding the proper powers must be given to ensure that decisions are carried out.

Gorbachev states that great responsibility lies with local and republican authorities to meet the needs of the population. The railroads, for instance are in a chaotic state, and therefore goods do not reach their destination, which affects both the consumer market and production. He says that new forms of economic management must be promoted, initiative encouraged and methods developed. Any slowness in implementing perestroyka can only make our task more difficult, he comments. Centrifugal tendencies can only be promoted if decisions are not implemented.

Gorbachev notes that the great concern aroused by the confrontation in the south of the country. On behalf of the entire Supreme Soviet he expresses condolences to those who have lost their near and dear ones and their homes in the dreadful situation in the south. The situation there is under control but continues to be tense, he says. The necessary guarantees for the peaceful settlement of the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan must be provided. The situation in Dushanbe is also a matter of extreme concern, blame must be apportioned, and those responsible must be brought to account.

The force of law must be strengthened and implemented in order to put the situation right, Gorbachev continues. Legal enforcements have been enshrined in the results of the last congress and in the results of the February plenum, when the consideration of Article 6 and other articles of the constitution heralded changes to develop democracy and glasnost. All attempts to spread panic and to infringe the law by inciting illegal acts must be combatted decisively. All registered organizations can take part in the creative processes under way, and the Soviet media must take care not to become a mouthpiece for disruptive influences. The perestroyka processes must go ahead without force, but we must be united. Let us not go to extremes, Gorbachev appeals, let us be aware of the danger and persistently go forward, resolving the major tasks confronting our state.

At 0721 GMT Gorbachev declares the session open and gives the floor to Lukyanov. An indistinct interruption from the floor is followed by shouts and calls as deputies call for the microphone. Gorbachev asks for people to wait. An unidentified deputy asks everyone to observe a moment's silence in honor of all who died in the recent events. All stand.

Agenda Outlined

LD1402075390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue their live relay of the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 0723 GMT Lukyanov takes the floor, saying that the agenda has been determined by current events in the country. It includes current legal drafts and drafts left over from the previous session. Absence of any individual drafts does not mean these are not important, but that time has been allocated to consideration of other matters. He notes that 50 items are on the agenda, some 30 of which are bills coming up for their first reading. In the first place: constitutional issues, social policy, interethnic relations and the federation, legal reform and organization matters.

At 0728 GMT Lukyanov says:

"I would like to remind you first and foremost that the Second Congress of People's Deputies recognized the need to work through issues of changes to a number of provisions of the current USSR Constitution regulating the foundations of the political and economic system, and also the national state structure of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet was instructed, following its work on the proposals on these issues, to present them for examination by the Congress.

"Two days ago the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium once again made a detailed analysis of this problem and came to the unanimous conclusion that such changes to the constitution must be submitted for examination by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies in the near future. They would concern Articles 6 and 7 of the Basic Law, about the place of the party and other sociopolitical organizations, articles devoted to various forms of property, and also provisions regulating the powers of higher echelons of state power in connection with the idea repeatedly put forward by deputies, citizens, and our academics for establishing the post of president of the country.

"To examine these issues, the Supreme Soviet Presidium submits for your decision the proposal to convene the extraordinary, Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies on 27 February this year, that is, in two weeks' time."

Further on Agenda Issues

LD1402082590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue their live relay of the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 0730 GMT Lukyanov says that at the last session draft laws on ownership and land were discussed and then published for nationwide discussion. Many comments have been received in connection with the concept of private property in particular, and there have been calls for a referendum. We must consider this, he notes.

The draft law on land has aroused a great deal of discussion, Lukyanov continues. The law on taxation was debated at the last session and was greatly criticized. It is proposed to look at two drafts on taxation: on taxation of citizens and taxation of enterprises, thereby dividing the issue into two. The Council of Ministers has also submitted for consideration a draft on tax inspection. It is proposed to discuss further acts on the matter of taxation, which have been under further refinement in commission.

Lukyanov states that a draft law on cooperatives and another on local enterprises are on the agenda. Both of these require further definition of the relations between local and central organs. A package of laws on social policy is to come up for discussion. first, a law on pensions for citizens to ensure the principle of social justice in evaluating labor of individuals. The protection of citizens in labor relations and trade union activities is to be discussed.

Other matters outstanding from the last session include the consumer market and the consequences of Chernobyl. There are also ecological issues, all of which have been considered in committee for discussion at the session.

Lukyanov notes the USSR Supreme Soviet is also to discuss issues relating to relations between the center and the republics. A new concept of the federation in contemporary conditions is to be considered. Wholly new positions have been evolved.

He remarks that other issues relating to individual and international matters and not to the rights of individuals are for debate. The decisions of the Estonian Supreme Soviet and the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet which cast doubt on the joining of these republics to the USSR are to be discussed. The document presented for a second reading regarding the status of the republics and the rights of individuals in those republics has been subjected to considerable reworking.

As regards the law on citizens' rights, which is on the agenda, this has international ramifications and also concerns language, Lukyanov comments. The most recent events indicate that these issues must be urgently examined. The law on language in particular must be urgently discussed. Since the last session of the Supreme Soviet there have been further instances of interethnic discord, in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, and now in Tajikistan. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium therefore considered it necessary to submit for consideration a draft on incitement to discord, and on introduction of a state of emergency.

At 0750 GMT Lukyanov says the next group of laws concerns matters such as the status and recall of people's deputies. The democratic process has given rise to many organizations and movements, but there are as yet no legal foundations regulating the work of these organizations. A draft law on public associations of citizens has therefore been drawn up for submission to the session. The trade union charter is insufficient, and relations between trade unions and the state are therefore to be examined in a first reading of a draft on this subject.

Lukyanov notes that the law on the press gave rise to heated debate at the last session; a second reading is on the agenda for this session.

A bill on entry and exit of Soviet citizens from the Soviet Union is on the agenda, he says. There are also bills on freedom of conscience, on petitions and complaints, and on street meetings and demonstrations.

Lukyanov mentions that the fight against crime, especially organized crime, is reflected in the bill on the judiciary and law and order. A draft law on the Soviet militia and on USSR internal troops in maintaining public order is on the agenda. A law on military tribunals continues the work begun last year on judicial reform. The basis of criminal legislation in regard to economic crime, crimes in the trading network, and other crimes are enshrined in a bill dealing with responsiblity of managers.

He notes the question of parliamentary ethics is also on the agenda.

At 0800 GMT Lukyanov says it has been proposed that at present only the main agenda should be published, to give leeway for full discussion of the 20 main items on the agenda. He states that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium submits the decision on the work of the session, moving toward practical implementation of economic reform. The Presidium calls on delegates to cooperate in bringing laws such as those regulating interethnic relations on to the books. The session must concentrate on issues relating to the monitoring and regulating functions of the Supreme Soviet to ensure these are implemented.

Lukyanov notes that the current session is planned to end on 24 or 25 April. The first week of the session is to be devoted to plenary sessions, and then the work will be alternately in commissions and in plenary session. One day a month is to be allocated to delegates' questions.

At 0807 GMT Lukyanov ends his speech.

Lukyanov Answers Agenda Questions

LD1402085890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue their live relay of the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 0808 GMT Gorbachev asks for questions for Lukyanov. (?Ilin) asks about the decision to convene an extraordinary congress. Lukyanov reads a written question concerning the absence of bills on market regulation. Lukyanov assures delegates that market relations are contained in the economic acts on the agenda.

A question on reduction of the Armed Forces under the Vienna accord concerns help for those affected. Lukyanov says the bodies responsible are drawing up a program to deal with the situation of those affected.

A question on the procedure and regulations regarding political parties receives the reply that this comes under the law on public associations.

There follow questions concerning the events in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh. Lukyanov affirms that the Supreme Soviet Presidium has been monitoring events and has been kept fully informed ever since 1988.

As regards the agenda, the 20 main issues on the agenda do not mean the other issues are abandoned, Lukyanov notes.

A deputy notes that the question of Nagorno-Karabakh (NKAO) was discussed at the last session and is still not settled. Lukyanov points out that NKAO delegates had asked for the question not to be raised at the session.

In answer to another question, Lukyanov confirms that documentation has been set out to all delegates; the question of unemployment comes under the government.

A questioner says Yazov said that troops were introduced into Azerbaijan to restore Soviet power. Gorbachev interrupts, saying that questions here are to Lukyanov.

Lukyanov then confirms further questions on the agenda. In regard to televising the session, Lukyanov says that the issue will be discussed, especially in regard to debates which might give rise to heated debate. USSR Council of Ministers' information is to be heard regularly, including the question of nuclear tests.

Asked what sort of commission is to discuss the issue of a presidential function in the USSR, Lukyanov says a special commission has been set up and has previously been discussed in the Supreme Soviet presidium.

As regards pensions, a questioner says it is already mid-February, but the Council of Ministers has not yet implemented the decision to increase pensions from 1 January. The question will be examined, Gorbachev confirms.

Lukyanov then assures that although the aftermath of Chernobyl is not among the main 20 questions it will be examined at the session.

Next, speaking on the role of president, a questioner from the floor asks exactly who rules the country, the Supreme Soviet or the Politburo. Lukyanov confirms the Congress and the Supreme Soviet are the top bodies.

Another questioner says no efforts have been made to settle the NKAO issue. Gorbachev cuts the speaker short by introducing Brazilian parliamentary guest to the session, to much applause. The questioner returns to the issue of the NKAO. Two minutes are left for questions, Gorbachev says.

Next, a Komsomol delegate raises the question of refugees and of the Armenian blockade. The issue of damage inflicted upon one republic by another should be examined. Lukyanov says that the status of refugees is on the agenda.

At 0830 GMT, following other procedural questions, a delegate asks about the introduction of troops into Baku, and whether this is to be placed on the agenda. Gorbachev says it will be debated whether the matter should be on the agenda.

Then Lukyanov confirms there is as yet no law on conversion of the defense industry.

Questions are asked about the Council of Elders and why the extraordinary session is to be on 27 February and not after the RSFSR elections. Lukyanov says all this will be discussed.

At 0834 GMT, Gorbachev announces an intermission until 1200 Moscow time (0900 GMT). The relay ends.

Gorbachev's Opening Remarks at 14 Feb Session

LD1402092590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0705 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Opening remarks by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the opening of the Supreme Soviet Session in Moscow—live]

[Text] Please register. [video shows electronic voting board shows number of deputies as they register; Gorbachev at rostrum]

Comrades: 434 members of the Supreme Soviet have registered. There is the necessary quorum.

Comrades, in opening the Third Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet I would like to say with all conviction that it goes far beyond the framework of a normal parliamentary meeting in terms of the nature of the issues which it is to examine.

Laws whose implementation will lead to radical qualitative changes in the development of our society must be adopted at the session. This determines, too, the significance of the present session for the country's life, and the very great responsibility of us, the members of the Supreme Soviet.

Nor can one fail to mention the specific nature of the situation in which we are beginning our work. The main point is that having embraced all spheres of life and strata of the population, perestroyka has produced a great deal as far as democracy, glasnost, freedom, and the emancipation of people's minds and energy are concerned. The policy of revolutionary renewal—and this is an indisputable fact—has sharply accelerated the social development of the country. At the same time, as was stressed both at the Second Congress of People's Deputies and at the February plenum of the party Central Committee, dissatisfaction has appeared and is growing in the country with the course, rates, and results of the perestroyka processes, with the situation in the consumer market, with the exacerbation of interethnic problems, and with the weakening of order.

Society is now effectively united in its demand to intensify work in all areas, to sharply increase efficiency and responsibility, to impose order, and to strengthen discipline. All in all, comrades, we have arrived at a boundary where swift and decisive actions are needed, above all in the sphere of the economy. Urgent long-term measures to improve the economy's health have been submitted by the government and approved by the Congress of People's Deputies. For all its significance, however, this is merely a program which must be followed by day-to-day persistent work both by the governemnt itself and by all the bodies subordinate to it, from top to bottom, and of course also by the country's labor collectives.

The past month and a half of 1990 have so far not reduced our concerns. There is much vacillation and disorganization at the level of central bodies in the implementation of planned measures, and there is a shortage of elementary efficiency. To sit with arms folded in such times is, however, impermissable for anyone.

The process of slackening management of the economy has not yet been halted. Direct economic links between enterprises are being set up too slowly. Mechanisms to restrict monopolism, group interests, and so forth are not working. We must devote attention to this. We must act. Where economic approaches have not yet been worked out, old ones must be used. The transition period is distinguished by the fact that interaction between one and the other is totally permissible here, with the stress on the new, of course, on progress. If anyone has insufficient powers, then we should see about those powers being given; but if anyone has insufficient ability or responsibility, simply, then we should be talking of something quite different.

Indisputably, a very great deal depends on the government and the central organs, but an enormous degree of responsibility for the fulfillment of the outlined program also falls on the republican and local organs, especially with regard to foodstuffs, light industry, the food industry, the services sphere, transport and trade—everything that concerns the population's everyday needs. Our cadres in the localities are ridding themselves too slowly of their free-ride mentality and, in many cases, social tension is arising because of their inflexibility and, if you like, their lack of responsibility. It's a fact, after all, that rail transport is at fever pitch, literally, because wagons aren't being unloaded on time all over the place and, as a result, consumer goods, foodstuffs, components, raw materials and other material resources which are essential for the stable operation of enterprises are not reaching their destinations. We must now act so that at one time and in a close interrelationship with each other urgent measures are taken and economic reform is advanced decisively. These are two sides of one coin, as it were.

In the course of economic reform we must ensure that new and powerful incentives are introduced for productive labor and the development of initiative. A path must be opened to new forms of economic management. There is no other path available. Our society is in agreement on this.

The experience of the recent period attests once again to the fact that radical solutions to all the acute problems of the present day can be found on the course of perestroyka, precisely—on the course of perestroyka of the whole economic machinery and, furthermore, of all production relations.

Delays in perestroyka, in radical economic reform, could exacerbate our difficulties today even more. And a great deal in advancing economic reform depends on the Supreme Soviet and on its present session, from which, first and foremost, the country awaits the law on property and land, and the whole package that is embraced by the concept of economic laws.

I will say more, that the need for reforms and transformations is also acutely felt in other spheres. Take interethnic relations. We are all presently alarmed at what is happening in a number of regions. It is becoming clearer and clearer that we can only really undo the tight knots of conflict which are leading to human casualties and material losses, and halt the dangerous centrifugal tendencies—more than that, separatist tendencies—by speeding up the radical transformations of the Soviet federation. Another thing is also clear, however: Steps in this direction must be combined with resolute actions to defend the legitimate rights of people of all nationalities, wherever they may live.

There is great concern in the country in connection with the tragic turn taken by events in the south of the country which have led to people's death, to mass expulsions from places of residence, and I think that we must return to this issue within the framework of this session's work in the near future.

In the name of the Supreme Soviet, I would now like to express the profoundest feelings of commiseration for the families who have lost their dear ones, and for those people who have found themselves in misfortune after leaving their homes and places of permanent residence.

For a long time everything was done to find a political solution to the complex issues which had arisen here. But when nothing else was left to prevent the death of thousands of people, the Supreme Soviet Presidium moved to take emergency measures. The situation there is now being kept under control, if one can put it thus, but the position is still tense. As I have already said, we must assign a special time in order—as has previously been agreed, and I have been told there is such a desire on the part of the republics—to examine the situation which has arisen and to attempt once again to find a reasonable approach through common efforts.

Life has shown the correctness of the decisions of the December session of the Supreme Soviet, and it was the fact that they were rejected that led to such a dramatic turn with such grave consequences. Yet the principal sense of these decisions by the Supreme Soviet in December was to combine the interests of the two peoples, to confirm the sovereign rights and integrity of Azerbaijan, and to ensure all the necessary guarantees for the development of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh within the composition of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

That is the formula, and that formula deserves our going back once again to think over our approaches and decisions for the future when we return to this issue.

The latest events in Dushanbe, where the fire has leaped from Baku, also speak of the extreme danger of interethnic strife and are a kind of chain reaction accompanied by the outburst of violence. Comrades, this is a matter of the destiny of the country and the security of our citizens. We must do everything to stop the fire. We must oppose in the most determined manner those who are whipping up nationalist passions and are provoking clashes. These people act in a base manner, remaining in the shadows, blending in with the masses, so to speak. They put into the foreground young people, children, and women, forcing them, almost at the point of a pistol, to make statements and even sign illegal anticonstitutional acts. We must use the full force of the law against those who, under the banner and slogans of national rebirth, are involving peoples in the struggle for their own ambitions and narrow egotistic objectives. A draft of an appropriate law has been submitted to the Supreme Soviet. It will be expedient to instruct the Commission on Issues of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order to prepare it for examination and adoption, so that it can be brought into force as quickly as possible. We have no right to be slow on this.

Comrades, vast politicization of our society is typical of the situation today. This is one of the main objectives of restructuring, and one can only welcome the fact that the broadest popular masses are becoming practically involved in running the affairs of state and society today. Following the elections in the republics and to the local soviets formation of a new integral structure of the soviets will be completed. This will signify, in itself, a fundamental change in how our political system operates. Of fundamental importance in this respect are also the proposals of the February plenum of the Central Committee on the need to alter Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. All this, together with the continuing process in which many new public organizations are emerging, is creating a new situation in the country and providing an opportunity to channel constructively the popular energy released in the interests of restructuring. It is in precisely this vein that we consider the aspirations of those soviet people who speak at meetings and demonstrations in favor of acclerating the course of restructuring and demand that bureaucracy, mismanagement and irresponsible attitudes are combatted more fiercely, the laws rigorously observed, effective measures to combat crime and corruption adopted, and order brought to transport, trade, services and in the streets of our towns and villages.

All of this is a natural element of the development of democracy, glasnost, and perestroyka.

At the same time, comrades, I would like to draw your attention to another aspect of the question. It is very important for us that these wholesome, democratic processes, instigated by public initiative, should not be used by people who are following aims far removed from the interests of the people and the demands of the revolutionary renewal of our society. And especially, we must not fail to give attention and the necessary evaluation to incitement to disobey the authorities, to violate the law, to calls to violence, and conscious attempts to whip up dissatisfaction and to sow panic. Those who are guilty must answer according to the full severity of the law.

The state based on law, which we want to create, is distinguished first and foremost by the fact that the multiplicity of views and interests existing in society have the chance to declare themselves freely, and, while remaining in the framework of the political structure, to strive to achieve their aims by political means. This is the whole essence, comrades. For what, one wonders, did we hold free elections? For what is the Congress and Supreme Soviet working, and widespread glasnost being affirmed, and the democratization of society being spread and deepened? All citizens and organizations standing on the ground of the constitution can take part in the legal political process. But those who prefer intolerance, violence, and chaos cannot in any way be accounted the democrats they claim to be, or champions of pluralism and free competition of ideas.

It must be said that our press and mass media must distinguish clearly between constructive processes and destructive ones. It is especially unacceptable for the mass media to be used as mouthpieces for those inciting disorder, discord, and violence.

It is the defense of our young democracy, which has not yet grown strong, the defense of the interests of the people that demands decisive action by us. It is not private interests and concerns of some kind that are at stake today, not only the wellbeing of particular strata and groups of the population. It is a matter of how perestroyka will proceed. Will we manage to achieve its noble aim on the paths of democracy and accord, without civil and interethnic strife, without violence?

Yes, perestroyka has thrown up many varied standpoints, opinions, and views about the processes under way.

This is normal. One can confidently forecast that this process will develop further, but as far as the main thing is concerned, we must be united today: We must defend perestroyka itself.

And in conclusion: Let us work without lapsing into extremes, always remembering both our immense possibilities and the lurking dangers. Let us work persistently and move forward without fail—perhaps I should even say move forward more resolutely. Only in this way can we tackle and solve the most major tasks facing our state. Permit me to wish you success in your work at this cruicial stage of the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet and I declare the Third Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet open.

The floor is given to Comrade Lukyanov for proposals on the agenda and procedure of work.

Stresses Need To 'Protect Perestroyka'

LD1402082490 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev called on Soviet legislators to press resolutely for new achievements in perestroyka. He opened the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin today.

The Soviet leader stressed that the session "oversteps by far the framework of an ordinary parliamentary assembly" by the nature of questions to be discussed by parliament.

The implementation of important political and economic bills submitted for the consideration of Parliament "will bring about radical and qualitative changes in the development of our society", he said.

Gorbachev noted that discontent is mounting in society with the pace of perestroyka and its present results. He also dealt with economic difficulties and aggravated ethnic problems.

The Soviet leader pointed to the need to consolidate all healthy forces in the country. "We must protect perestroyka", he emphasised.

Deputies Question Lukyanov at Supreme Soviet

LD1402102690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0808 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Question-and-answer session at the opening of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Unidentified deputy] Esteemed Anatoliy Ivanovich, you said it was planned to convene an extraordinary congress on 27 February which would be devoted to the introduction of the institution of presidential rule in the country. I should like to ask in this connection: It is known that a colossal amount of preparatory work is required for this, in particular in the area of legislation. What commission will do this and where are these documents? Why have we not received them and everything that concerns a transition to this form of rule, because I believe that it will be essential for the Congress to prepare itself.

[Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov] The Supreme Soviet Presidium has set up a special commission which is preparing these documents. An instruction has been issued that the drafts of the new articles in the constitution on political and economic issues and in connection with the introduction of the presidency be presented in the very near future. Of course, this issue cannot be submitted to the Congress without its having been considered at the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

[Another unidentified deputy] Anatoliy Ivanovich, can it be assumed that following the election of the country's president and the establishment of his powers—in view of the fact that the birth and formation of new parties in the Soviet Union has not been excluded—the president's role will be unrestricted, and that the president will have greater powers than the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has at present? For the Politburo-...[murmurs in the hall] Excuse me please, maybe I'm not expressing myself sufficiently clearly, therefore don't disturb me please. What I should like to know...[changes thought] I am interested in one question specifically. To what extent, after the election of the president, will the Supreme Soviet, which has been elected by the people, be the sole true sovereign leadership of the country, and not the Politburo? That's my question. I don't know whether I have formulated it sufficiently or not. At present the country doesn't understand who is leading the country: the Supreme Soviet or the Politburo. It doesn't want the country's president to lead the Supreme Soviet—that would be leadership of the country.

[Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev] When we reach the agenda point on that we will explain everything that arises.

[Deputy] But is the question clear, Mikhail Sergeyevich?

[Gorbachev] It's clear.

[Lukyanov] The question is clear. Our view is that the Congress and the Supreme Soviet are the supreme organ of power in the country.

[Deputy] Thank you. That's what I wanted to hear. [murmurs in hall] [passage omitted]

Tasks of Supreme Soviet Session Outlined

LD1302142290 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 13 Feb 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Soviet lawmakers will gather in the Kremlin on Wednesday to grapple with a host of problems now plaguing the Soviet Union.

The Third Session of the Supreme Soviet, which is expected to last until late in April, will discuss several major bills and determine whether to call an emergency congress of people's deputies.

The proposal to call the congress is expected to be tabled by the Supreme Soviet Presidium early in the session, following a unanimous decision by all members of the Presidium on Monday.

The congress is expected to be asked to introduce a popularly elected president in the Soviet Union.

High on the agenda will also be economic legislation—bills on property ownership and land which were passed in the first reading at the Parliament's autumn session.

The bills are aimed at decentralising the economy and creating equal conditions for different forms of ownership.

Some people blasted the drafts for not being radical enough, demanding the legalisation of private property. While others, who took part in the nationwide discussion, said the implementation of these bills would mean "undermining socialism's tenets".

Given ethnic turmoil that strains the fabric of the Soviet federation, the package of laws to revamp the Soviet federation is also expected to cause a lot of controversy at the session.

Lawmakers will discuss a bill on economic relations between the union and constituent republics.

Much has been said that the constitutional right to successsion is not backed with a working mechanism.

The bill on republican self-determination is expected to fill the legal vacuum.

In spring deputies will consider a package of human rights bills, enshrining commitments the Soviet Union vowed to abide by in the final document of the Vienna meeting. The drafts include a bill on Soviet citizenship, entry and exit from the country and on the press.

Bills on the legal status of an emergency situation and the rights and duties of Interior Ministry troops are designed to ensure compliance with the law.

The Supreme Soviet will have a tough time sorting out legal [word indistinct]

Soviets 'Political Image' May Change

LD1402084590 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

President Gorbachev opened a regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin at 1000 today (0700 GMT).

The current session is to pass decisions that may change substantially the political image of Soviet society. They include, first and foremost, the law on ownership. It will do away with the state's economic monopoly and will allow diverse forms of ownership and recognise their equality.

A sharp aggravation of inter-ethnic problems has necessitated an urgent discussion of several bills—on the delineation of powers between the centre and the Union republics, on the procedure of secession of Union republics from the USSR, on heightened responsibility for encroachments upon the national equality of citizens and forceable violation of the integrity of USSR territory. The session will apparently discuss also the documents recently passed by the Lithuanian and Estonian parliaments, which actually rule null and void the legislative acts passed by the supreme bodies of those republics on their accession to the Soviet Union in 1940.

The current session will proceed against the background of a fundamentally new social situation. On the eve of the session, a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee declared that the communist party renounces its monopoly on political power and proposes to delete from the constitution the article legalising its leading role.

The plenary meeting also went on record for strengthening state power in the current difficult situation and to enact a post of president of the country. It is worth recalling that now the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet discharges the functions of a "collective presidency". As to the president of the Supreme Soviet (this post is now held by President Gorbachev), his powers are rather limited.

Since the session cannot amend the Constitution, the Supreme Soviet Presidium recommended on Monday to call an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, the supreme organ of state power in the country.

It is believed in journalistic circles that if parliament accepts the Presidium's recommendation, the session will be interrupted for a few days to hold the congress, which will most probably take place at the end of February.

Primakov on Discussion of Privileges

LD1302190690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] In the Kremlin today, there was a routine session of the Commission for Privileges of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There was an examination of the question of how the resolution of the USSRs Council of Ministers of 12 October last year on the abolition of the Fourth Chief Administration attached to the USSR Ministry of Health is being fulfilled. Questions on the use of personal transport and allocation of personal pensions were also raised. Speaking at the session of the commission was its chairman, Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov. This is what he said:

[Begin Primakov recording] The vocation of communist or the office of director do not in themselves give one any advantages in the enjoyment of benefits. Abuse of office must be eradicated. This assertion is now contained in the platform which the party will submit to the Congress. I think this could be a motto for our whole state mechanism, not just for the party. In this connection, I would like to say that it is directly on the recommendation of our Commission that the Council of Ministers will issue an order, for instance, on stopping the distribution of foodstuffs from enterprise No.208 to central party, soviet, economic, and public organizations. This is completely closed now, so to speak. The supply of foodstuffs to leading officials of the central bodies is to be effected on the common basis in operation for the population of the city of Moscow according to the location of these organizations.

Now I would like to say that we spoke, you remember, about this matter, about the need to review the system of state dachas. The appropriate resolution was adopted. All with the exception of the first two persons—I refer to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Government, the chairman of the Council of Ministers—have left the state dachas and will live in dacha settlements of the departments in which they work. Rent of dachas will be paid as per tariffs operative in the city of Moscow. Previously, on retirement on pension, persons in this category were allocated a dacha free-of-charge in dacha settlements. Two or three persons were allocated to serve them. A car was attached to them. The right was granted them to order victuals from buffets and departments in which they worked. Under the new decision, the right is granted to use rest homes on two days, Saturdays and Sundays, for payment. They can use transport: instead of personal transport it will be used on call, the serving staff is not being kept. This concerns all those retiring on pension.

Now dachas: the same decision is adopted for heads of departments of the CPSU Central Committee who have retired on pension, although I want to stress that they never had serving staff, they used motor transport only for a set number of hours. In the CPSU Central Committee, there are now no separate buffets for the leadership, nor are there any in the Council of Ministers. They all use one buffet on an equal footing, from the technical worker to a head of department of the Central Committee. And here the question of motor transport for the CPSU Central Committee was raised. I should mention that here radical measures have been adopted. It is only used mainly on call, and I think only the heads of departments have the right to use Volga-31 cars for a certain number of hours. I would like to take the opportunity to read out a telegram which we have just received. A telegram from Sakhalin:

In the recent past in many publications of the newspapers, radio, central television, there have been reports that in some places, heads of town committees, rayon committees of the CPSU, oblast and central party bodies, still enjoy privileges in the form of service dachas, hospitals, hunters' cabins, buffets, and other attributes of the time of stagnation. There is none of this in Sakhalin. Therefore we have the obvious and indisputable right to appeal to the conscience of a communist and citizen, or any party leaders who still enjoy special benefits. Stop discrediting the party and its communists,

the overwhelming majority of which have never enjoyed any privileges. Or immediately give all these special facilities to those who have the acutest need of them. Free the journalists from this subject and give them the time and opportunity to find out the true reasons for our failures and the way out of the political and economic deadlocks. For, the party, having begun perestroyka under the banner of Lenin, must finish it, without special dachas and special rations.
[Signed] Secretaries of the oblkast committee, first secretaries of the town committees and rayon committees of the CPSU of Sakhalin Oblast Party Organization; Comrades Aksenov, (Belonosov), (Burko), Vostrikov, (Golubtsov), Goreyev, Demyanenko, Yelizaryev, (Zhigalo), Zolotukhin, and many others.

I think it is a very good telegram and everyone should know about it. [end recording]

Further on Privileges

LD1302225990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Video report from the Supreme Soviet Commission on Privileges by Correspondent V. Stepanyuk; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted: studio announcer reads from the draft party program published in PRAVDA concerning the need to do away with the misuse of positions of office. He says that this was discussed today at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Privileges which was attended by representatives of other committees and commissions]. [video shows meeting of commission in progress. Biryukova is seen addressing the meeting]

[V. Stepanyuk] The commission has been working for just over six months, but there are already tangible results both in the center and in outlying areas. This is borne out, if only by a telegram from Sakhalin Oblast which was read out at the meeting by Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov. [video shows Primakov speaking].

[Begin Primakov recording] In the recent past in many publications of the newspapers, radio, central television, there have been reports that in some places, heads of town committees, rayon committees of the CPSU, oblast and central party bodies, still enjoy privileges in the form of service dachas, hospitals, hunters' cabins, buffets, and other attributes of the time of stagnation. There is none of this in Sakhalin. Therefore we have the obvious and indisputable right to appeal to the conscience of a communist and citizen, or any party leaders who still enjoy special benefits. Stop discrediting the party and its communists, the overwhelming majority of which have never enjoyed any privileges. Free the journalists from this subject and give them the time and opportunity to find out the true reasons for our failures and the way out of the political and economic deadlocks. For, the party, having begun perestroyka under the banner of Lenin, must finish it, without special dachas and special ration. Signed by the secretaries of the oblast committee, and first secretaries of city committees and rayon committees of the CPSU of Sakhalin oblast party organization. [end recording]

[Stepanyuk] In unison with the telegram was the test of a decision by the Central Committee of the Council of Ministers, adopted last week according to which, state dachas as residences will henceforth be made available only to the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers. Other leaders of the upper echelon of power will have the use of dachas in settlements of the appropriate departments and organizations. These dacha buildings are being placed on a pension-regime basis.

The 24 state dachas which have been released have been transferred to health care bodies, and the material and domestic service for former leaders of the party and state has been abolished.

In her report at the commission, Aleksandr Pavlovna Biryukova noted in particular that after the abolution of the fourth main administration of the Ministry of Health, a significant portion of sanatoriums and medical equipment had been transferred to universal use for the treatment of children, invalids, and war and labor veterans. For example, at the base of the hospital-clinic on Michurinskiy Prospekt where members of the Central Committee and ministers formerly received attention, an All-Union diagnostic center is being set up where patients from throughout the country will be sent.

Of course, medical attention for deputies and the highest leadership will remain, but in other forms. Comrade Biryukova spoke about this in detail. [video Shows Biryukova speaking]

[Begin Biryukova recording] the treatment and health care association and its establishments will be maintained at the expense of (?estimates) of the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Administration of Affairs of the CPSU Central Committee, of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other organizations proportionate to the number of staff attached from these organizations. [end recording]

[Stepanyuk] From 1 February, by government order, the system of providing party, soviet, and public organizations with products was abolished. The well-known 208 Moscow base which supplied about 400 different organizations has now been reprofiled. Dozens of childrens' homes and boarding schools, the (Bodkinskaya) hospital, the Sklifosovskiy Institute, sanatoriums, and childrens' treatment institutions have now been attached to it.

The use of vehicle transport has been regulated. The Chayka personal car is now being made available only to deputies of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Ministers get Volga cars. Other leaders of ministries and departments have the use of cars for business trips, only when called for on the basis of a conveyer system within an established time limit.

The recommendation was made that the Councils of Ministers of the Union reublics should themselves take corresponding decisions. Summing up the results of the discussion, Comrade Primakov said in particular: [video shows Primakov speaking]

[Begin Primakov recording] I just wanted to say that our commission categorically advocates that the system of these special hospitals should be reviewed, in all oblast cities, in all cities in general, right? And that the quota should be made more precise, so that there should not be a leveling down, but so that at the same time, there should not be elite health care which we are against.

All unlawful privileges and benefits should be eliminated, and the whole system of benefits should be built upon firm, strict regulation according to official posts, everything which assists better work as they say. And complete glasnost, complete glasnost. Without glasnost we can't go anywhere in these matters, and we will continue to act in just this direction [end recording]

Brazauskas Interviewed on USSR Supreme Soviet

LD1302150490 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpts] A sitting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium was held in Moscow today. Taking part in it for the first time as chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet Presidium was Algirdas Brazauskas.

The sitting in Moscow considered the resolution adopted by Lithuania's Supreme Soviet on 7 February on eliminating the consequences to Lithuania of the 1939 German-Soviet agreement. [passage omitted]

On his return from Moscow, Algirdas Brazauskas gave an interview for the Lithuanian radio. He pointed out that due to the incompetently prepared experts' conclusions on the issue, he had proposed that the presidium take no decision. Algirdas Brazauskas had been emphasizing during the sitting that a nation's self-determination is an affair of the nation itself. No experts' conclusions or speeches can change it, so the only way was to sit down to the negotiations table and assess the 1940 events together.

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev at first condemned the Lithuanian decision outspokenly. Still, afterwards, he proposed that no decision be taken and the issue be debated by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The participants in today's sitting were, for the first time, acquainted with a draft law on the mechanism of seceding from the Soviet Union. According to Algirdas Brazauskas, it's a very big and complicated draft where a nation's self-determination matters are treated as second-rate. The draft is, in fact, formulated in the wrong way. The prerogative to decide is left to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. The mechanism proposed involves not only an economic evaluation of the republic applying, but demands consent of the rest of the union republics. This is also motivated by economic ties. At first it was proposed that the Presidium endorsed the draft today but it was then decided to put the draft through the usual aprobation procedure submitting it for discussion by relevant commissions and committees, first finding out the republic's opinion. [passage omitted]

CPSU Central Committee Plenum

CPSU Central Committee Platform Published

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["Toward Humane, Democratic Socialism (CPSU Central Committee Platform for 28th Party Congress). Draft Approved by CPSU Central Committee February (1990) Plenum"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The time since the party summoned the country to embark on perestroyka has been a test and a trial of this course. The main result of the transitional period is the spiritual and political emancipation of society. In an atmosphere of freedom, democratization, and glasnost people have acquired civic and national dignity and are taking affairs of state into their own hands.

We knew that a truly epoch-making breakthrough in the life of a huge country and almost 300 million people would not be simple and easy.

Yes, perestroyka has been accompanied by considerable complications. The problems accumulated over the decades in the sphere of the economy and social and interethnic relations and in society's spiritual life have been exposed. Moreover, the acuteness of the problems and the scale of the necessary transformations have been far greater than could have been initially supposed. The errors and miscalculations made during the implementation of the reforms themselves have been added to this.

Such is the reality. All the experience accumulated over these years—both positive and negative—makes it possible to say with conviction: There is no reasonable alternative to perestroyka. Though difficult and dramatic, it is the correct way to ensure a worthy life for people and to realize our great country's potential. We must boldly and consistently follow this path, opposing those forces that would like to return our society to the past or to push it into civil confrontation.

The cardinal question now is the pace of the transformations that have been begun and the acceleration of the solution of the acute socioeconomic and political problems. We have reached a point where the former system of economic management and administration to a considerable extent no longer operates, but the new mechanisms have not yet been brought fully into play. This transitional state is accompanied by manifestations of instability and by a weakening of management and breeds confusion in people's minds. If it is protracted, it may have serious negative consequences for the people.

There is only one way out—to act more resolutely and to implement the planned reforms vigorously.

The submitted platform, once approved by the congress and pending the elaboration of a new party program, is intended to be the principled basis for communists' work and a system of political guidelines in conditions of the transitional period.

I. What Is the Meaning of Perestroyka, What Must Be Resolutely Abandoned, and What Preserved in the Party's Ideological and Political Arsenal

We are primarily breaking with the authoritarian-bureaucratic system, which is incompatible with socialist principles. Our ideal is humane, democratic socialism.

Having embarked on the path of revolutionary changes, we must irrevocably cast off the fetters of the past impeding our progress toward that goal.

While continuing to espouse the positions of the working class and all working people, at the same time we renounce the simplistic class approach which is counterposed to nationwide and pan-human values.

We renounce the total statization of social life and everything that led to arbitrariness and lawlessness and made it possible to abuse power with impunity and to enjoy undeserved privileges.

We renounce the primitive view of socialist ownership, the disregard of commodity-money relations, and any forms and methods of administration and economic management breeding alienation among people and not permitting them to realize their potential and natural inclinations.

We reject the attitude toward nature inherited from the era of initial industrialization, which views nature as an object of unchecked exploitation.

We condemn the disregard for the people's cultural and historical values and the country's accumulated intellectual capital.

We reject negative dogmatic stereotypes regarding other parties of the working people, including social democratic parties, which make their contribution to the progressive development of countries and peoples.

We proceed from the premise that the fundamental feature of the new epoch is the objectively growing interdependence between countries and the formation of an integral world within which different societies cooperate while retaining freedom of choice.

The CPSU regards it as fundamentally important to clearly distinguish in our past between what is a product of Stalinism and a consequence of the flouting of socialist principles and what represents the real contribution of the party and the people to the progress of their own country and all mankind.

Both idealization of the past and reluctance to know the full grim truth about tragic aspects of our history and attempts to erase everything really great and valuable in our historical legacy are equally dangerous. The continuity between Soviet people's labor and struggle cannot be broken.

Socialist development is impossible without an ideal. In turn, an ideal is bereft of any real basis if people forget or ignore their history. Historical awareness, love for the motherland, and patriotism, which in our conditions is unacceptable outside the context of internationalism, are signs of the people's health and viability.

It is impossible to paint a specific, fully detailed picture of the look of the future, even a future separated from us by just a few decades. One thing is clear: It will be a totally different society that will take shape in conditions of democracy, on the basis of mighty cultural, scientific, and technical progress, and will be based on the humanist values of our country's peoples and all mankind. A society that realizes the integrity of civilization and nature and in which man is the intrinsic goal of history. These features of the future social organization reflect the essence of the original socialist idea embodied in the peoples' labor and struggle for social liberation.

Commitment to the socialist choice and the ideas of October remains immutable for us: Power to the soviets, factories to the workers, land to the peasants, peace to the peoples, and free self-determination to the nations. We have on our side the spiritual strength and valor of older generations, their selflessness in the name of the motherland, and the sacred memory of the sacrifices they made during the cruelest ordeals.

We have on our side the idea of social justice. This roused tens of millions of people from historical limbo and inspired them to deeds which transformed our state into a mighty world power. The Soviet land played a decisive role in saving mankind from fascist slavery, was the bastion of many peoples in their struggle for national liberation, and made an irreplaceable, unique contribution to world science, technology, and culture.

The right to work, to pension provision, and to free education and health care and other social boons which first appeared on Soviet soil have become the property of every civilized society. To forget this would be to show disrespect for the truth and for those who displayed the greatest heroism and dedication in their enthusiasm for the socialist ideal.

Those are the basic points of perestroyka's thinking and morality.

II. Man Is at the Center of the Party's Policy

The party sees its main aim as being to really place man at the center of social development and to provide him with worthy living and working conditions, social justice, political freedom, and opportunities for the comprehensive development and spiritual blossoming of the individual. It is by this that society's progress must be determined.

The CPSU is in favor of the speediest formation of **legal guarantees of the observance of citizens' rights and freedoms.** Recognition of personal freedom as the main value in life and the resolute turn toward ensuring the entire complex of citizens' rights constitute a most important gain of perestroyka. Now it is necessary to consolidate these rights and to place them on a firm material, juridical, and political footing.

The party will uphold:

—reliable legislative protection of the **individual and the citizen's dignity,** inviolability of his home and property, and confidentiality of correspondence and telephone conversations;

—the strengthening of guarantees of the implementation of the **right to work,** including the ensuring of remuneration in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor and its end results; the formation of a mechanism for maintaining employment, for training and retraining cadres, and for the necessary material support for those who are forced to change their profession or place of work;

—the development and strengthening of **citizens' political rights:** participation in the management of social and state affairs, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to hold rallies and demonstrations, and freedom to unite in social organizations. Here there must be strict observance of law and order and of the demands of Soviet laws;

—**freedom of creation** and the treatment of talent as a national asset. While giving every encouragement to diversity in the cultural sphere, the party will at the same time uphold humanist criteria and protect society from pseudo-culture. A commercial approach toward culture is unacceptable to socialism;

—the free self-determination of man in the spiritual sphere, **freedom of conscience and religion.** Without abandoning its own philosophical positions, the party will deepen dialogue between atheists and believers and continue the line of ensuring that all churches have the opportunity to act freely within the framework of the laws, making their contribution to mutual understanding between people;

—an enhancement in the role of the **courts** in defending civil rights and the creation of public and state commissions engaging in activity in defense of rights.

The CPSU attaches great importance to the adoption in the very near future of **laws** on the press and other mass news media, on freedom of conscience and religious associations, on citizens' social associations, on the procedure for exit from the USSR and entry to the USSR, on USSR citizenship, and on the languages of the USSR's peoples, and other legislative acts called upon to ensure citizens' political and personal rights.

The party will strive persistently to strengthen and develop **Soviet people's economic and social rights** and increase their prosperity. In this sphere it concentrates its efforts on the following tasks:

—The elaboration and enactment of a statewide **demographic policy** ensuring the reproduction of the population and the regulation of migration processes;

—the implementation of the **housing program** advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress, which set the objective of ensuring a separate apartment or individual house for every Soviet family by the year 2000. This will require an increase in the rate and a substantial improvement in the quality of housing construction funded by the state, enterprises, cooperatives, the population's savings, and preferential credits; the intensification of public monitoring of apartment distribution; and integrated development and human-scale architecture for cities and settlements;

—the safeguarding of the right to health protection by improving **medical services,** with health care appropriations being considerably increased and enterprise, sector, republic, and local soviet resources being mobilized for these purposes to the maximum extent;

—the intensification of guarantees of the protection of the **environment** and the rational utilization of natural resources; the adoption of a long-term state ecological program for the country and union and autonomous republics and also of environmental protection laws; the improvement of the structure and activity of organs engaged in nature protection matters;

—the development of the entire system of **education, enlightenment, and culture** and an increase in investment for these purposes; a sharp improvement in the quality of instruction and training for specialists; an increase in teachers' prestige; the encouragement of competition of ideas and talents and the overcoming of bureaucratic administration in the spiritual sphere and of monopolies of group interests; a solicitous attitude toward the cultural and spiritual heritage and historical monuments; support for diverse public initiatives and donations in the interests of developing education and culture; and broad and free exchange of spiritual values with foreign countries.

The strategy of perestroyka is based on an in-depth understanding of the **role of science and the assimilation of its results** as a powerful factor in achieving a qualitatively new condition of our society. The development and utilization of the country's creative potential must be based on a firm legislative basis. It is important to ensure effective protection of intellectual property. The party favors the independence and structural diversity of VUZ's [higher educational establishments] and academy and sector scientific establishments.

A particular place in the CPSU's economic policy is occupied by **concern for social strata and groups of the population who need priority assistance and support from society.**

The CPSU favors:

—the implementation of major measures to improve the working and living conditions of **women**, including by entitling them to a reduced working day, convenient working hours, and an increase in prenatal leave, child-care leave, and enterprise-funded leave for mothers of large families and single mothers; the establishment of monetary subsidies for leave and treatment; the priority development of production of high-quality goods and services for women; and their release from heavy work and work injurious to their health. Within the framework of political reform the party will strive to get women promoted more widely to leadership work;

—a decisive improvement in concern for children, an increase in resources for the construction of children's facilities, the improvement of the quality of their work, and the expansion of production of goods for children; the urgent implementation of measures to reduce infant mortality;

—the elaboration and implementation of an effective youth policy, the opening up of broad opportunities for the **younger generation** to realize their abilities and satisfy their requirements, and the promotion of their full involvement in the political, economic, and cultural life of society; the renewal of the youth movement, the Komsomol [Communist Youth League], and student and other organizations, and support for their initiatives and growing desire for independence;

—the improvement of the situation of **disabled people and war and labor veterans**; the adoption of a new law on pension provision for USSR citizens and the elaboration of a special program to provide separate apartments for all disabled people and war and labor veterans and the families of deceased servicemen in the next five-year plan; the fulfillment of decisions to improve medical services and increase production of goods designed for the specific requirements of veterans and disabled people; increased pensions and benefits linked to prices growth; the granting of the right to obtain full wages irrespective of size of pension.

Communists are convinced that **citizens' rights and freedoms are inseparable from their civic responsibilities.** The party will work persistently for the establishment in society of respect for labor, legality, and law and order and readiness to defend the socialist fatherland and for the creation of legal and moral guarantees of such general human values as honesty and decency, kindness and charity, moral self-control and honor, and human dignity and freedom of choice.

—The CPSU **is opposed to any unlawful privileges and benefits** and in favor of complete glasnost in this area. The title of communist or the position of leader does not in itself confer any advantages in the enjoyment of benefits. Abuses of position must be eradicated.

III. For an Effective Planned Market Economy

The party regards the organization of effective work by legislative and executive bodies at all levels with a view to improving the economic situation within the country as a most urgent task. The CPSU will help implement the system of measures elaborated by the Council of Ministers and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to stabilize the consumer market, and above all to eliminate the gulf between the money supply and available commodities, as elaborated by the Council of Ministers and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The steps taken must have an explicit social thrust and primarily improve the economic position of low-income strata of the population.

The population's food supply is still a most acute problem. The CPSU advocates the priority development of the **agrarian sector of the economy** in the interests of speeding up the increase in production of meat, milk, vegetables, and other crop-farming and stockraising output.

The resolution of the food problem must be based on the development of all forms of economic activity on the land; state, cooperative, and individual livestock units, along with diverse forms of economic activity—contract, lease, family, and others—must have equal opportunities. Strengthening the material and technical base of agricultural production, output processing and storage, and reduction of losses en route from the fields to the stores is still a highly important area.

One of the fundamental tasks of perestroyka is to create social equilibrium between city and countryside. New potential for providing rural inhabitants with comfortable housing, organizing up-to-date everyday services, and building roads has to be created within a short time.

Our attention still centers on increasing consumer goods production. The CPSU will help implement a series of measures to enable progress to be made in saturating the market.

The party advocates an effective policy of financial recovery, including such measures as encouragement for deposits in savings banks at increased interest rates, development of the insurance business, distribution of state loan bonds under advantageous conditions, sale of housing, advance payments by the population against future acquisition of durables, and sale of stocks and other securities. More flexible economic instruments and normatives will be needed to prevent the formation of unjustified income and the issue of money not backed up by a corresponding supply of commodities.

The CPSU believes that the resolution of current and long-term socioeconomic problems is indissolubly linked with **radical economic reform,** whereby the command-distributive system with its inherent monopolism, lack of initiative, wastefulness, mismanagement, and disregard for consumers' interests is supplanted by a planned market economy founded on diverse forms of ownership, competition between independent commodity producers, and a developed finance system with powerful incentives for personal and collective interest.

The path of economic reform has proved far harder than it originally appeared. But we are fully determined to prevent a return to forms of economic activity that discredited themselves and brought the country to stagnation and a lag behind the developed countries of the world.

Economic reform is inconceivable without profound restructuring of **property** relations. The CPSU advocates diverse forms of ownership. Equal healthy competition between forms of ownership constitutes the economic foundation of citizens' freedom, the worker's real choice of the forms and means of applying his abilities, and guarantees of the consumer's interests and rights.

The transformation of state property into property which is democratically controlled by the working people themselves on the basis of leaseholding, complete economic accountability, contracts, and joint-stock and other contemporary forms with consideration for the scale of production, regions' specific features, and the extent to which integration ties are developed is an important task.

The party advocates comprehensively promoting the development of the cooperative movement on a sound basis, strengthening production sharing above all, including kolkhozes, and broadening the sphere of activity of various forms of collective labor ownership, including proportionate, shared, and joint-stock ownership.

The CPSU believes that the existence of individual labor ownership, including of means of production, is not at variance with the contemporary phase of the country's economic development.

The use of any form of property must preclude the worker's alienation from the means of production and man's exploitation by man.

Finding an organic way to combine **planned and market methods** of regulating economic activity is a most complex problem of economic reform.

Modern production is impossible without centralized planned influence on its development. This essentially socialist principle of economic activity has been applied in many countries. However, it is exceptionally important to determine the precise extent and methods of such influence. Unlike the past, when the plan tried to encompass the whole production and distribution process, there must be a procedure whereby planned centralized economic leadership is primarily implemented via prices, taxes, interest rates, credit, payments and so on, while the sphere of this leadership is strictly determined by the resolution of strategic tasks. This includes first and foremost the implementation of major scientific and technical and structural programs, the development of the infrastructure, comprehensive measures to protect the human environment and renew resources, tax and credit-finance policy, and the provision of a stable money supply. Questions associated with people's social security need to be regulated on a centralized basis.

The CPSU proceeds on the premise that the country needs a single union market—full-fledged and regulated—which must become a permanent mechanism ensuring and maintaining balance between production capacities and requirements and the dynamic equilibrium of effective supply and demand. This is also a condition for the Soviet economy's incorporation into world economic relations and the transition to ruble convertibility.

Markets for consumer goods, means of production, securities, investments, currencies, and scientific developments must be formed in order to organize a full-fledged market economy, and reform of the financial, monetary, and credit systems must be accelerated.

The **restructuring of price formation** is a sine qua non for market regulation of the economy. Artificial price levels and relationships and the burden of ineffective subsidies for some and ruinous expropriations from others give false guidelines for economic activity, muddle assessments of its performance, perpetuate scientific and technical backwardness, and prevent the advantages of the international division of labor from being exploited.

Competition among commodity producers, including foreign firms, must constitute an important regulator and factor hampering price increases. Production, trade, credit services, and the insurance business must be legislatively demonopolized for this.

The party **advocates the structural restructuring of the economy** in favor of the consumer sector and measures to cut back inefficient capital-intensive production units and concentrate efforts and funds on modernizing existing enterprises. More attention must be paid to implementing programs for the rational use of nature, resource saving, and the saving of raw materials, semimanufactures, and labor expenditure and to combating mismanagement. Conversion of defense sectors of the economy must become an organic component of the process of structural restructuring; relying on their high skills and scientific and technical potential, production of modern means of production and consumer goods may be drastically increased. At the same time resources must be provided for expanded reproduction, without which economic development will inevitably grind to a halt.

The party will do its utmost to support the efforts aimed at **speeding up scientific and technical progress** with consideration for their economic, ecological, and social effectiveness and at rapidly introducing its achievements in all spheres of public life. The provision of necessities for the powerful development of fundamental and applied research is an important concern for the state. Scope must be given for diverse forms of scientific organization and dissemination of knowledge.

Protecting nature means protecting man. Toward the close of the 20th century nature conservation has become a categorical imperative for the preservation of life on earth. We must introduce world standards in our country and take an active part in international environmental cooperation. Our country's rapid industrial growth coupled with its disregard for nature protection measures has resulted in extremely grave ecological disaster areas. Emergency measures and more funds are needed to rectify the situation. The party deems it necessary to legislatively enshrine the procedure for most strict scientific reviews and consideration of public opinion when resolving questions associated with the siting of new production units.

At the same time a panic-stricken approach whereby unwarranted demands for the closure of enterprises that are vitally necessary to the country and without which people's most elementary requirements cannot be met is unacceptable. It will be impossible to resolve ecological problems themselves and save nature without or in defiance of contemporary scientific and technical and industrial development.

Broadening the country's involvement in the **international division of labor and labor cooperation** is a sine qua non of effective economic development. Increasing the competitiveness of Soviet goods and services, consistently strengthening enterprises' foreign economic independence—including their foreign currency independence—overcoming the prevalence of raw materials in exports, and restructuring the import structure is a reliable means of achieving this.

While advocating the implementation of all the aforementioned measures, the CPSU will steadfastly guard working people's interests and strive to put a reliable legal barrier in the way of the shadow economy, corrupt elements, speculators, and new seekers after monopolies.

IV. Toward Extensive Socialist Democracy and Self-Management for the People

Democratization is the objective and the means of perestroyka. The formation of a rule-of-law state and a self-managing socialist society is a highly important condition for the success of the entire renewal process and a guarantee of observance of man's rights.

The party's policy proceeds on the assumption that the sovereign will of the people is acknowledged as the sole source of power. A nationwide rule-of-law state precludes dictatorship by any class, particularly the power of a managerial bureaucracy, and constitutes a Republic of Soviets, which guarantees all citizens the ability to participate in state affairs and hold any posts.

We have taken important steps away from an authoritarian system toward a democratic system, and supreme organs of power have been formed on the basis of new principles and approaches. We now have to complete the restructuring of the structure of all state bodies, the transfer of power to the soviets, and the radical transformation of the Soviet federation.

The electoral system. This must be brought fully into line with the principles of universal equal direct suffrage. We want elections to be an area of honest competition between representatives of all strata of society, individuals, and ideas which have been submitted to the judgment of the voters by the party, public organizations and movements, and individual candidates. The party will strive to ensure worthy representation within the body of deputies and state bodies for workers, peasants, women, young people, veterans, and other social strata and groups which are insufficiently involved in political life and need their interests to be defended.

Democracy and political pluralism. The democratization of our society is accompanied by the emergence of new sociopolitical associations of citizens. Society's development does not rule out the possibility of parties being set up, either. The procedure for forming parties will be determined by law and reflected correspondingly in the USSR Constitution. The creation and activity of organizations and movements which propagate violence and interethnic enmity and pursue extremist anticonstitutional aims must be prohibited by law.

The CPSU does not claim to have a monopoly and is prepared for political dialogue and cooperation with everyone who advocates the renewal of socialist society. We believe in principle that the level of society's democratization, the democratic formation and functioning of state and public institutions, citizens' involvement in politics, and the steady development of the perestroyka process are of crucial significance. The CPSU today is the real political force which, while doing its utmost to help democratize society, at the same fulfills a consolidating role on the scale of our vast multifaceted country.

Soviets of people's deputies. One of the most important tasks of the coming period is for the soviets to become truly plenipotentiary organs consistently expressing the people's will and concentrating in their hands the threads of state administration. To this end they must enjoy the appropriate rights and economic autonomy and have the support of a strong, competent body of deputies.

As the political reform is deepened and administration is decentralized, the CPSU will promote the formation and development of self-governing communities. This will enable higher organs to be freed from many of their present operational and economic functions and to concentrate on resolving complex tasks on the scale of union and autonomous republics, regions, and the whole country.

State power. The CPSU believes that key significance for efficient administration is attached to the separation of power functions—legislative, executive, and judicial. In Lenin's words, we must combine the advantages of the soviet system with the benefits of parliamentarianism. The first steps have been taken in this direction. But the experience of perestroyka dictates the need for clearer demarcation of the responsibility and competence of state organs.

Given the ultimately decisive role of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, a reliable and effective mechanism for implementation of the policy of perestroyka and execution of the laws adopted is needed. The experience of work by the new highest organs of power shows that as yet this mechanism is only in its formative stage. The question of creating a post of head of state, in the shape of a president responsible to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and possessing the necessary authoritative powers, is being raised increasingly urgently in society. This is dictated by the need to maintain the country's stable development, make perestroyka more dynamic and strengthen the guarantees of its irreversibility, ensure the normal and effective functioning of all state and social institutions in the process of democratization of the rule of law and the security of citizens, protect the interests of the USSR, and ensure our state's representation in the international arena.

It is necessary to strengthen the positions and prerogatives of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Communists who are members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and members of the government must act more resolutely and responsibly, seeking the implementation of the necessary measures to stabilize the situation in the country and surmount the economic crisis.

The state and economic apparatus. In this sphere, too, a significant perestroyka lies ahead, and this should, in our opinion, be based on the principle that the apparatus must necessarily be accountable to representative organs and to the public, on the reasonable sufficiency and professionalism of that apparatus, and on glasnost in basic procedures and limitations on secrecy. It is expedient for the apparatus to be renewed following the election of new soviets.

Justice and the protection of public order. Urgent measures are needed to strengthen legality and law and order. Observance of the law by everyone, whoever they are, should be an essential norm in the activity of state organs and social organizations and the behavior of officials and citizens. The party advocates the further strengthening of the independence of the courts and the prosecutor's office as guarantors of legality and law and order.

Enormous work lies ahead in carrying out **judicial and legal reform** and creating a highly effective system of justice, first and foremost in order to put an end to the trend toward the growth of law-breaking and ensure inescapable punishment for criminals, thieves and murderers, bribe-takers and embezzlers, extortionists, dealers in the shadow economy, speculators, rapists, and hooligans.

We consider it important considerably to boost the professional training, prestige, and material provision for workers on law enforcement organs—courts, the prosecutor's office, the investigative apparatus, and the militia. The situation demands that in the struggle against crime every means stipulated by law be employed, in the context of strict observance of the presumption of innocence, the right to defense, and the norms of justice.

The transition to new conditions of economic management, in particular the wide introduction of contractual relations, requires an improved arbitration service, the reinforcement of the national economy with legal cadres, and a major improvement in the entire system of legal education of the population.

Defense. Our new thinking has considerably increased the potential for ensuring the country's security by political means. However, while the world is militarized and burdened by armed conflicts and the danger of war has not been removed, we need a reliable defense capability.

The party considers it its duty to take care that our Army and Navy, which have done the Motherland such great services, can successfully resolve the tasks facing them in present-day conditions. To this end it is necessary to move toward **military reform**—on the basis of the new defensive doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency. Inasmuch as military building is oriented toward qualitative factors, it is necessary in every way to increase the professionalism of personnel and bring it up to a level worthy of our Army's glorious traditions and the code of honor of those who have devoted their lives to it. The party will seek to increase the prestige of military service and strengthen social safeguards and improve living conditions for servicemen and their families.

The rule-of-law state presupposes effective political leadership of the defense sphere and accountability of the military department to the highest organs of power, coupled with maximum openness in its activity in the light of the level of confidence between states that has been achieved.

The CPSU supports the program of conversion of defense sectors of industry in such a way that the potential accumulated there is preserved and augmented for use in civilian production without any decline in the quality of equipment produced for the Armed Forces.

Internal security. The protection of state borders, counteraction to foreign intelligence services, defense of the Soviet constitutional system and citizens' rights—all this makes it incumbent on us to show concern for the border and internal forces, which fulfill a complex and sometimes dangerous mission. The internal affairs and state security organs, remaining a vitally necessary institution for the maintenance of public order, must operate strictly within the law and under the control of representative organs of power.

The rule-of-law state and the self-governing society. The party proceeds on the basis that the formation of a rule-of-law state is a comparatively lengthy process, in the course of which there will emerge a corresponding structure of state organs and an integrated system of laws, and traditions will be accumulated that will serve as a guarantee against encroachments on democracy and attempts to return to tyranny. The development of political culture has an enormous part to play in the formation of a rule-of-law state.

The principles of socialism and democracy will be implemented more surely and reliably as all social processes increasingly come to be regulated by economic and legal means and as the need to employ state coercion gradually recedes. The formation of a self-governing society will make it possible to uncover the people's mighty creative potential.

On the new USSR Constitution. The radical renewal of our society has brought to the forefront the question of creating a new Fundamental Law of the Soviet state. We consider it correct to work more actively toward the adoption of a new Constitution.

V. Toward a New Federation

The CPSU's nationalities policy at the present stage. The fate of perestroyka and the country's future depend to an enormous extent on how interethnic relations develop.

We resolutely reject attempts to erase the great and worthy contribution that October made to our country's life—the consolidation and acquisition of statehood by many peoples that were in the position of colonial outposts of the Russian empire, the eradication of their backwardness, new values in interethnic contact, and the sense of equal membership of a great world power. At the same time distortions of the Leninist nationalities policy have brought the peoples of our multinational state considerable sufferings and losses. Serious problems have also accumulated in the course of objective migratory and demographic processes.

The party sees the main way out of the difficulties that have arisen in this sphere in the consistent implementation of economic and political reforms, the resolute rejection of the Stalinist, basically unitarian, model of state structure, and the full and consistent implementation of the principle of federalism.

Our approach to questions of the development of nations and interethnic relations is set forth in the CPSU platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy in Present Conditions." It is based on the following key principles: Unconditional observance of the rights of a citizen of any nationality throughout the country's territory; endowing the sovereignty of the union republics with real substance and ensuring a new level of autonomy for all types of national autonomous formation; the preservation of the country's integrity as a federation of free and equal republics voluntarily delegating to the Union a part of their rights for the sake of the attainment of common goals.

Self-determination of nations. The principle of self-determination of nations in a renewed Soviet federation presupposes the freedom of national-state entities to choose the way they organize their life, their institutions, and symbols of statehood. Our ideal is not unification, but unity in diversity.

The party confirms its adherence to the Leninist principle of the right of nations to self-determination even to the point of separation and advocates the adoption of a law on the mechanism for implementing this law. At the same time, we are convinced that the weakening, not to mention the severing of multifaceted and interpenetrating mutual links would result in unpredictable negative consequences for all the peoples, as well as for the lives of individuals. Therefore, we are resolutely opposed to separatist slogans and movements leading to the destruction of a large multinational democratic state.

The Union and the Union Republics. The transformation of the Soviet federation should be orientated toward the harmonization of inter-nation relations and the establishment of an optimal link between union republics and the union as the overall entity.

The CPSU deems it necessary to develop the treaty principle of Union structure. This would make it possible to reflect the considerable changes that have occurred and embody new approaches to the whole range of problems of national progress and inter-nation relations. When certain clearly defined functions are transferred to the Union the status of union republics as sovereign states will be strengthened and will acquire constitutional guarantees.

Real republic sovereignty is impossible without economic independence. But the present-day economy cannot manage without the center operating at the macro-level. The center has no interests of its own, distinct from the fundamental interests of the republics and peoples in the federation.

But the jurisdiction of the union and the republics must be clearly defined in such areas as planning, budget formation, tax and credit, and pricing. Direct contract links between enterprises in all republics and regions, and a developing unionwide market, must form the economic foundation for integration processes and the renewal and strengthening of our federation.

Relations between republics and the center and among republics themselves must take into account the specific features of each—geographical position, historical development and establishment of statehood, role in the distribution of productive forces in the country, nature and level of the economy, and mentality and customs of the local peoples.

Development of autonomous entities. The improvement of the Soviet federative state presupposes the strengthening of sovereignty and widening of the rights of autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs and their potential for independently solving major questions of economic, social, and cultural life. The party will devote unflagging attention to this.

The rights of nations and the rights of the individual. As a result of migration processes and distortions in past development, some peoples are in danger of losing distinctive features in their historical homeland. Therefore, measures to defend native language, cultural and ethnic features and national spiritual values, a unique way of life, and the demographic structure of each republic are warranted.

At the same time such measures should not be carried out at the expense of the interests and rights of citizens of other nationalities living in the republic. Racism, chauvinism, and nationalism are incompatible with the principles of socialism and the country's laws and with international norms. No people, however small, should lose its culture, language, and unique identity and character that have been centuries in the making. We favor granting national groups living in concentrated populations the opportunity to create their own public, educational, religious, and other associations and have cultural and news organs, schools, and religious premises.

There must be special concern at overall state level for small peoples and for their distinctive existence and development.

The CPSU advocates the absolute right of all peoples to freely use their native languages and declare them state languages within the confines of national-state autonomy. Russian provides for overall state needs; it is a means of inter-nation intercourse and it should be give the status of official language throughout the country.

Communists, loyal to internationalism, hold the interests of all the country's peoples equally dear. The status of the party, which unites people of all nationalities, makes it possible and obligatory to use this political potential to settle inter-nation disputes and conflicts. That is what we intend to do.

VI Toward the Peaceful Development of Mankind

New thinking, new foreign policy. Having started perestroyka and thereby caused profound changes in the entire world situation, and determining what kind of power we will be as a result of renewal, we have assumed an enormous responsibility to mankind. What kind of world it is that enters the 21st century will depend on the success of perestroyka in the USSR. In turn, the fundamental improvement of international relations and the passage to a peaceful period in world development meet the vital interests of the Soviet people and contribute to the progress of perestroyka.

The foreign policy based on new thinking has already borne fruit. The world is casting off the fetters of confrontation. The integral nature of modern civilization, which needs a new world policy, is becoming increasingly evident. The cold war has been stopped. The danger of a worldwide military conflict has receded. There has been a beneficial move toward new relations between the USSR and the United States. The first major steps have been taken on the path of practical disarmament. Dialogue and talks are becoming the predominant form of international relations. Political methods are taking precedence in the settlement of regional conflicts.

New thinking and the new foreign policy have placed the Soviet Union in the forefront of the building of a safe and civilized world order. We favor freedom of social and political choice. This principle, together with the principle of balance of interests, should be universal in the coming era and rid it of the position-of-strength policy and militarized thinking. Our long-term foreign policy course involves an all-embracing range of mutually advantageous, equal ties and contacts with allied states and countries of CEMA; enterprising participation in the European process, in the building of a "common European home"; activity in the Asia-Pacific region to transform it into a zone of peace and cooperation; all-around assistence to the United Nations in the implementation of its new-found potential; the rendering of "good offices" in the political settlement of regional conflicts; and solidarity with peoples and states upholding their independence against any outside interference.

In order to demilitarize the world community our course envisages the complete prohibition and phased elimination of nuclear weapons and the cessation of tests everywhere; the banning and elimination of chemical weapons and their production; the radical reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces on the way to eliminating the actual physical possibility of an offensive war; the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territory of other states and the elimination of military bases there; the nonmilitarization of outer space; the reorganization of military alliances (even their elimination) into defensive-political associations serving general security and international stability; deep cuts in military budgets and the conversion of the military industry; a gradual transition to mutual openness on land, at sea, in the sky, and in space; and effective monitoring of military activity and observance of treaties.

The party is convinced that only a policy leading to an historically irreversible peaceful period in mankind's development meets the true interests of the Soviet state in the present and in the future.

Toward a new quality of international cooperation. The future of the peoples, given the absolute sovereignty of the states in which they live, are more closely intertwined than ever before. This makes demands on world politics that are totally different from any that have gone before. Concerted efforts by the entire world community to tackle mankind's global problems are an absolute imperative.

Only by joint efforts can states overcome famine, poverty, mass epidemics, drug addiction, and international terrorism, and stop the growth of critical imbalances in the development of different parts of the world. Only by joint action will it be possible to prevent an ecological catastrophe, the portents of which are already evident on all continents. Only by removing obstacles to scientific and technical exchange and turning the world economy into a truly world economy will it be possible to create the material foundation for the peaceful development of civilization. Movement toward the goals of the new era demands a fundamentally different level of international cooperation. The United Nations has an indispensable role to play here. We also favor collaboration with all progressive organizations of local, continental, regional, and international dimensions.

The world community's viability lies in the diversity of its development and in its national, spiritual, social, political, geographical, and cultural multifariousness. The ideas of socialism will be revived and will gain growing influence—we are convinced of this—in the process of civilization's overall progress. The dramatic events in East Europe—despite specific features which vary from country to country—are a painful and critical overcoming of the negative experience which developed during the struggle for socialism in the extremely adverse conditions of the "cold war" and without the national factor being taken properly into account.

The changes in East European states do not shake our friendly attitude toward their peoples. The CPSU expects that the reforms which have been launched there, just like perestroyka in the USSR, will create a more natural and lasting foundation for voluntary mutually advantageous ties.

The CPSU is open to cooperation with communist and workers, socialist and social democratic, and liberal and national democratic parties, with all organizations and movements holding positions of peace, democracy, and social progress.

Perestroyka has offered an opportunity to overcome the historical split within the socialist movement and to revive it as a world movement on a modern basis. There are noticeable signs—and the CPSU welcomes this—of prospects for the consolidation of left-wing forces in the quest for ways toward a new world and social progress.

VII. Toward the Party's Renewal

At this sharp turning point, the party will be able to retain its vanguard positions and to pursue the cause which it has launched and which enjoys the people's support provided its radically restructures itself.

The authoritarian regime had an extremely negative effect on the party, its role in society, and its work methods. In practice a party-state structure of power developed. In terms of internal party life, relations between primary organizations and leadership organs were deformed, communists were isolated from the shaping of party policy and had hardly any influence on the activity of higher-ranking party committees. Great harm was done by supercentralization, the stifling of free thought, and the repressions. The party's prestige suffered tremendous damage as a result of cases of ideological and moral degeneration.

Nonetheless, the broad party masses retained a commitment to Lenin's ideals, selflessness, and self-sacrifice in serving the people. The CPSU always had active living forces, and this is precisely why it managed to overcome the inertia of Stalinism and stagnation, headed the revolutionary turnabout, and thus proved again its ability to play a vanguard role.

The scale and newness of the tasks which emerged urgently raised the question of the need to fundamentally change the CPSU's position in society, to abandon the claims to infallibility and political monopolism. Moreover, the dynamics of changes in society dictate the fast pace of the party's transformation—otherwise it runs the risk of being forced onto the sidelines of political life. The party masses are acutely aware of this situation: The question of **reforming the party and profoundly restructuring it** is being raised with growing persistence.

The CPSU is a self-managing sociopolitical organization, a voluntary union of like-minded communists. We conceive the renewed CPSU as a party of socialist choice which expresses the interests of the working class and all working people and builds its policy on the basis of scientific analysis of new realities, creatively developing the legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin in the context of all social thought and historical experience of the 20th century.

In its theory and practice, the CPSU relies on the democratic and humanist traditions of all peoples in the Soviet Union. Organically combining national and international principles, the party is implacable toward chauvinism, nationalism, and racism and toward any other manifestations of reactionary ideology and obscurantism. It is cleansing its ranks of those who reject its ideopolitical and organizational foundations and those who participate in antisocialist, nationalist, and anti-Soviet organizations and actions.

The CPSU's position and role in a society undergoing renewal. The CPSU will pursue its policy and will struggle to retain the position of a ruling party within the framework of the democratic process, gaining in elections the voters' votes so as to obtain the people's mandate for shaping leadership organs at the center, in the republics, and at local level.

The CPSU, just like other sociopolitical organizations and mass movements, participates in the management of state and social affairs and nominates its representatives for soviets of people's deputies and other state organs. The party does not take on any powers of state authority. Its role is to be the democratically recognized political leader, acting through communists without claiming an advantage or the enshrining of its special status in the USSR Constitution. In this context, the party deems it necessary to exercise the right of legislative initiative and to submit to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies an appropriate proposal concerning Article 6 of the country's Fundamental Law.

The CPSU, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, engages in ideopolitical work among the masses to propagandize its policy and program objectives, to disseminate the humanist values of socialism, and to agitate for the achievement of perestroyka's goals.

By casting off duties that are alien to its nature, the CPSU will be able to concentrate its efforts on the elaboration of theory and action programs, on organizational and educational work, on the implementation of the party's cadre policy, and on the resolution of the tasks of society's consolidation along the paths of its revolutionary renewal. Therein lies the main essence of its vanguard role. This will dominate its new relations with all sociopolitical organizations operating with the framework of the USSR Constitution—relations of dialogue, debate, cooperation, and partnership.

The party sees the **trade unions** as an autonomous public organization and supports their desire to energetically act in the working people's interests and to protect their labor and socioeconomic rights.

The CPSU builds its relations with the **Komsomol** on the basis of ideological unity, comradely cooperation, and collaboration, and is interested in the latter's direct participation in the elaboration and implementation of its policy.

The party initiated the affirmation of **glasnost** in the country. It will continue to do everything to ensure that glasnost becomes the natural environment for shaping public opinion, a powerful means of the people's direct influence on policy and of citizens' participation in all affairs of state and society, a factor of perestroyka's irreversibility and dynamization. Taking into account the mass media's important role in society's life, primarily in the implementation of glasnost, the party will assist their activity by all possible means and will exercise its ideological influence on them on a democratic basis. The CPSU will struggle against disinformation, against the mass media being used to promote selfish personal and group interests, to fan interethnic dissension, or to propagandize ideas which are alien to humane and democratic socialism.

This is how we perceive the party's new role in society. This does not mean that everything in the future is clear. The unfolding of reforms will make it possible to amplify the answers to numerous specific questions.

Democratization of the party. What needs to be done, how are the CPSU's structure and the nature of party work to be changed so as to ensure that it can effectively play its role in the new conditions, taking into account its changed position in society?

There is a need for a most profound democratization of the party, which should be based on the power of the party masses.

It is from this point of view that it is necessary to rethink the principle of democratic centralism, to overcome the interpretation which made it possible to take advantage of this principle to implant hierarchical barrack-like discipline. Otherwise it will be impossible to overcome communists' dissatisfaction with their role in party policy and activity, to restore every communist's sense of his own dignity and inner freedom.

The CPSU needs genuine democratism of internal party debates and decisionmaking procedures, an atmosphere of proper party comradeship. The statute must guarantee collegiality in the work of all party organs, pluralism of opinions, freedom of criticism, diversity of approaches and platforms, the holding of referendums in special cases, and the minority's right to uphold its views subject to mandatory fulfillment of decisions made by the majority.

The renewal of the principle of democratic centralism is meant to ensure democratic unity within the party ranks, forestalling the formation of factions with their own internal organization and discipline.

The enhancement of the direct role of the party masses presupposes expanding the rights of **primary organizations** which are the foundation of the party. They must be given an opportunity to decide by themselves—responsibly and taking current tasks and specific conditions into account—questions concerning their own structure, programs and forms of activity, and the timing and procedures for holding meetings and political actions, and to act according to rules and procedures which enabling them to exert real influence on the work and decisions of higher-ranking party organs, conferences, and congresses.

Communists justifiably advocate enhancing the autonomy of primary party organizations in fundamental questions of party building. It is proposed that they be given the final say in party enrolment and that the candidate membership stage be abandoned. These and other questions should be discussed with the extensive participation of communists and be taken into account in preparing the new CPSU draft Statutes.

Confirming the territorial-production principle, that is to say, retaining party organizations in production and other collectives, the party advocates that communists show themselves active in their work and in the activity of public organizations and self-management bodies.

The important role of the party's **rayon tier**, which is a direct helper of primary party organizations in their work and which is closest of all to people—communists and nonparty people—is seen in a new way in the context of strengthening the foundation of the party. It is essential to provide a system ensuring a vital link between CPSU members and this tier.

The election of **delegates** to conferences and congresses should be carried out on a contested basis with the direct participation of all communists. The proposal to elect the **first secretaries** of party committees on a contested basis at meetings, conferences, and congresses deserves support, given that such an election procedure does not place them above the corresponding party collegiums or beyond control and criticism.

During the precongress debate it is necessary to discuss the question of expanding the role, rights, and content of the functions of all elected party organs. It is essential to abandon the procedure whereby the formation of elected organs is carried out predominantly on an ex officio basis. This fully applies to the CPSU Central Committee too. The sole criterion here is the political and human qualities and competence of the communist.

On the communist parties of union republics. The correct solution of the question of the autonomy of union republic communist parties assumes special political significance in the conditions of the transformation of the Soviet federation. The former tutelage exercised over them by CPSU central organs is unacceptable. Republic communist parties should have the opportunity while observing the CPSU Program and Statutes to draw up their own program documents, to tackle independently organizational, cadre, and financial questions, to engage in publishing activity, and to have the right to directly participate in solving fundamental questions affecting the life of the entire party. Therefore the leaders of union republic communist party central committees should be statutory members of the CPSU Central Committee's leadership organ. The central committees of republic communist parties could be granted the right to demand discussion of a question at a CPSU Central Committee plenum if they disagree with a decision of the party's central leadership organs.

It is essential to expand the rights of **kray, oblast, and okrug party committees**. All levels of party organs should structure their work on the basis of the interests of primary party organizations and communists.

The extensive development of democratic principles in our internationalist party will promote the strengthening of the voluntary ideological-political and organizational unity of the CPSU, giving it the maximum scope to discharge the role of the consolidating political force in our multinational society.

On the CPSU Central Committee. The CPSU's new role makes new demands on its Central Committee as the organ of collective leadership required to concentrate the party's theoretical and political potential. It is appropriate that not only comrades elected to the Central Committee's leadership organs but also some other members of it who represent workers, peasants, and intellectuals should work directly in the Central Committee and its commissions for a fixed period on a permanent basis, receiving the appropriate salary out of party funds.

It is proposed that the party congress elect the chairman of the CPSU and his deputies. It is proposed that a Presidium be elected at a Central Committee plenum to tackle political and organizational questions in the period between Central Committee sittings.

For the organization of the work of the Central Committee on a permanent basis it is appropriate to set up appropriate commissions from Central Committee members, with other authoritative communists taking part. These commissions would be headed by CPSU Central Committee secretaries elected at a Central Committee plenum and would operate under the leadership of the chairman and his deputies.

In the intervals between CPSU congresses it is desirable to provide for the regular holding of party-wide conferences, granting them the right to replace the members of leadership organs.

The democratization of the party presupposes regular rotation of members of all leadersip organs.

The CPSU congress elects the party's central control and auditing organ.

The communists and the public of the RSFSR actively advocate the need for closer coordination of the activity of the republic's party organizations and the creation of an appropriate leading organ. In view of the important role played by the Russian Federation's party organizations in maintaining the integrity and unity of the CPSU it is appropriate to submit these questions to discussion by primary party organizations and city, rayon, okrug, oblast, and kray party conferences in the RSFSR and to comprehensively examine them at a republic party conference prior to the 28th CPSU Congress.

On the party apparatus. The apparatus is essential to the party and the party will improve its structure, enhance its competence, and eradicate bureaucratic phenomena. It is necessary to create conditions that make it possible to attract well-trained, educated, and capable party members to work in it. The apparatus should have the optimal number of personnel and be strictly subordinate to elected organs.

On the party's mass media organs. The CPSU regards its own news organs both at the center and at local level as an important means of implementing its policy and ideology and conducting its organizational and ideological-educational work, and directs their activity.

It is appropriate that the chief editors of party publications be approved at plenums of the relevant party committees, that chief editors and other leaders of central party mass media be subject to approval by the CPSU Central Committee Presidium, and that the chief editor of PRAVDA, as the party's central organ, be approved by a CPSU Central Committee plenum.

On the CPSU budget. In the future all the activity of the CPSU and its organizations and party committees should be funded through monetary and material resources derived exclusively from party income. The party owns and disposes of property. The accumulation and expenditure of monetary resources should be carried out openly. It is essential to increase the autonomy of party organizations in questions concerning the utilization of party resources and to proceed on the basis that the communist parties of union republics and kray and oblast party organizations dispose of their own budget, seeking to increase income to finance the transition to self-financing, resolve structural-personnel and financial questions, and determine expenditure on financing the activity of primary organizations. It is also necessary to have effective and open control of the expenditure of party budget resources at all levels—from the primary party organization up to the CPSU Central Committee.

Such are the ideas with which the CPSU goes to the 28th congress, mindful that the forms of life which will perhaps determine the face of society for years ahead are now being set down.

The views and assessments set out here have appeared in one form or another in the pages of the press, in speeches by communists, in resolutions of party meetings, and in letters to the CPSU Central Committee. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, CPSU Central Committee plenums, the First and Second Congresses of USSR People's Deputies, sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and meetings with workers, peasants, representatives of various circles of the intelligentsia, young people, and veterans have provided a wealth of material to ponder and draw conclusions from.

The CPSU Central Committee expects that in the pre-congress discussion communists will determine their stance on the problems set out in the Platform and that this discussion will itself serve to stimulate the renewal of party work.

We invite nonparty people, all those who are not indifferent to the role of the party under perestroyka, to take part in the discussion. Along with comments and proposals we are also ready to consider alternative drafts. The collective intellect of the party and the people is the powerful engine of perestroyka.
The CPSU Central Committee

Draft Platform Reviewed

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14 Feb 90 First Edition p 1*

[Editorial: "Behind the Lines of the Draft CPSU Central Committee Platform: Renewal of the Party Is Key to Success of Perestroyka"]

[Text] A lofty responsibility for the fate of our party and of the country. An endeavor to find, carefully consider, and propose to the party and society the optimum paths for emerging from the difficult situation that we are going through and for promoting the cause of perestroyka begun on the CPSU's initiative.... Thus one may define the essence of the great and acutely critical discussion which took place at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, which evoked a broad response in our country and abroad. A discussion which was marked by the correctness and boldness of opinions, an exacting approach to the analysis of the situation in the party, and a demanding attitude toward each communist regardless of his post.

Toward a humane, democratic socialism—that is the slogan or, more accurately, the main point of the draft CPSU Central Committee platform, which has become the subject of passionate creative and constructive discussion. The representatives of many party organizations, communists from enterprises, construction sites, labor collectives in the agrarian sector, and figures from science and culture took part in this discussion along with members of the CPSU's leading elective organs. This is because all communists are worried, concerned, and alarmed by such vitally important, portentous questions as: Where do we go from here? How? What is preventing our movement and having an adverse effect on the party's prestige and its influence on the processes of the political, socioeconomic, and spiritual and moral renewal of Soviet society?

The first responses received by the PRAVDA editorial office show, despite their varied nature, that the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum was a significant event in the country's life. It demonstrates the party's determination to ensure a breakthrough in the decisive areas of perestroyka, the renewal of the CPSU, its democratization, and the broadening of glasnost and in mastering the modern methods of political leadership.

The main directions of present-day party policy and its most important principles are concisely and, at the same time, deeply and comprehensively set out in the draft CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th party congress published yesterday. They are presented for discussion by the whole party and all the people. The CPSU Central Committee urges communists to define their position on the problems raised in this program document and expects that the discussion on its provisions will stimulate the renewal of party work. Nonparty people are invited to take part in the discussion as is everyone who is interested in our party's role in the conditions of perestroyka.

It is to be hoped that the party's appeal will find understanding and support and that all the valuable thoughts, ideas, and proposals will be considered and implemented. It is especially important to note this because often—as plenum participants pointed out—the opinions of ordinary communists and nonparty people came to naught and people did not even know what became of their comments and suggestions. This bureaucratic practice must be stopped once and for all. It is not for form's sake or to court the masses that the discussion is being held. It is a question of the fate of our party and its place in society.

The broad interest in the February plenum's materials proves once more that Soviet people see our party as an influential political force, called upon and able to successfully conduct perestroyka. But the stock of trust may be exhausted if the CPSU does not resolutely or radically restructure itself or renew the ideological and theoretical arsenal and the content, forms, and methods of its work in the light of the modern world's realities. Cadre policy needs radical improvement. Unfortunately, the package of measures to renew cadres elaborated at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum is still being poorly implemented and the search for resourceful, creatively minded people and their promotion to party committees are not proceeding actively enough. The struggle against bureaucracy has clearly slackened and many communists are still alienated from party life and are not exerting effective influence on the formation of elective organs. In conditions of a heightened ideological and political struggle, some party committees have clearly become disoriented and have failed to offer the firm and clear position of communists to counter the chaos of rallies.

In preparing for the congress, the date of which has been brought forward, the CPSU is putting forward a realistic program for the renewal of the party and society and the consolidation on that basis of all progressive and healthy forces. The party—and on this point the majority of plenum participants expressed solidarity despite the differences in their views, opinions, and approaches—advocates the resolute destruction of the ossified system of economic management and policy. It advocates the rejection of the dogmatized ideology which for many long years performed a protective function, which preserved, as it were, the state-administrative model of socialism, and which spawned various illusions and preconceived notions about the guidelines of social development. At the same time the party confirms its fidelity to the creative spirit of the materialist world outlook and dialectical methodology of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The party's policy is centered on man, his rights and individual dignity, and the diversity of his interests. The CPSU, as the plenum stressed with renewed force, is pursuing a course aimed at the resolute humanization of social relations, at reorienting the economy and policy sharply toward man's needs and requirements, and at asserting the principles of real social justice. This is also the aim of the measures proposed by the party to improve the economic situation in the country and establish an efficient planned and market economy. This is also the purpose of the steps to develop socialist democracy and the self-management of the people, strengthen the sovereignty of the Soviets, and fashion a rule-of-law state. The interests of all nations are served by the establishment of new interethnic relations in our country and the movement toward a new federation in which the respect of the rights and dignity of each people will be guaranteed and Leninist principles of the friendship of the peoples will be preserved and consolidated.

The CPSU's efforts to implement the principles of the new thinking in international relations are also designed to serve the cause of perestroyka, the peaceful creative labor of Soviet people, and the strenghtening of their confidence in the future.

The key to the success of all these schemes and plans is undoubtedly in the radical restructuring and renewal of the party itself. Success will also come from the party's irrevocable rejection of the command-bureaucratic and authoritarian methods and in the deep democratization of party life. It is necessary to restructure internal party relations in such a way that all communists and primary party organizations are given a real and not purely theoretical opportunity to influence the formation of party policy and the election of all its leading organs up to and including the CPSU Central Committee. Now, when the party is renouncing the constitutional enshrinement of its leading role in society, it is only the worthy actions of communists which will enable the CPSU to retain its leadership.

The CPSU Central Committee's course received support during the party discussion at the February plenum. Many of our readers' messages to PRAVDA also approve it on the whole. At the same time, they ask with good reason: How realistic is the planned program? Are the measures designed to implement it well thought out? Unfortunately, there are grounds for such fears. It has happened so many times that the most promising initiatives, not reinforced by the purposeful ideological and organizational work of all party links, have remained mere declarations and have had no perceptible influence on the state of affairs. Therefore, it is necessary even now in the process of the discussion and the preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress, to resolve the urgent questions without delay and to step up party work as much as possible.

When defining the prospects and thinking about the future, party organizations cannot and must not stand aloof from specific urgent problems, from the topic of the day. Because the foundations of the future are laid today.

"Our collective followed with great attention the progress of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. We share the deep alarm of its participants at the complex situation which is taking shape in the country." This message has just reached the editorial office from the Saratov oil refinery. Its collective is worried by the decline in state and labor discipline and the increase in irresponsibility, nihilism, crime, the black economy, and other negative phenomena. The plant's workers, engineers, and technicians believe that the CPSU Central Committee and the country's government must act quickly and use all the measures provided by the law to instill order, stabilize the situation in society, and prevent chaos, lawlessness, and anarchy. PRAVDA has received such demands from other places, too. They cannot be ignored.

But party organizations have no right to rely solely on the resolute actions of the center. They are expected to know people's moods well and take them into account, to take immediate measures to eliminate shortcomings, to develop communists' initiative, and to increase their responsibility for the situation in their collective, city, oblast, and republic.

There are not and cannot be any simple, clear-cut answers to the very complex questions raised by life. Those who play on people's expectations and casually make loud promises are, quite simply, manipulating public opinion and inflaming passions. The plenum quite rightly gave a harsh assessment of the alarmism and confusion of a number of party committees in the face of the emerging difficulties. The communist's position, his views, deeds, and actions are especially significant today.

The PRAVDA editorial office offers the paper's pages for open and free discussion of the problems of the restructuring of the party. The newspaper plans to publish a "Discussion Leaflet" twice a week and we also intend to publish a series of leading articles on the plenum's results. The main thing now is to present in the newspaper the whole spectrum of opinions, verdicts, and ideas. The only criterion is concern for the party's interests and the people's well being.

The preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress is entering the home stretch. Soviet people pin great hopes and expectations on the party forum. We will devote all our strength, knowledge, and energy to justifying those expectations and hopes.

Leningrad's Gidaspov Discusses Plenum

LD1302000390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Participants in the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee have met Leningrad journalists at the Smolnyy. The plenum's participants shared their impressions of its results and spoke about the tasks facing the Leningrad party organization and all Leningrad people. Answering a question from our correspondent, Boris Veniaminovich Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom (oblast party committee) and Gorkom (city party committee), said:

[Begin Gidaspov recording] For me, this plenum and all these events play a great role and are very important. The decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee plenum are decisions of extraordinarily great significance for the party, for society, for the country, and for the world as a whole.

The annulling of Article Six in the Constitution, for which many communists were striving, is of very great significance for the party. You know, many people heaved a sigh of relief, because we had not been able to free ourselves of this burden at all. Stereotypes are stereotypes, and you cannot get away from them, but the fact that it was not just somebody, but the plenum of the Central Committee which made such a decision is very pleasant for me personally. It is a much-needed deed.

For the first time the word "president" [prezident] is appearing in our vocabulary, is it not? That is a very important thing, too.

These are major decisions on the destiny of our country and party, and on the destiny of the world community. We have taken a gigantic new step forwards, and this is in the acute economic situation in which our country finds itself. I think the initiators of this step were the Politburo and Mikhail Sergeyevich. Of course, it was all very complex. Yet, nevertheless the step has been taken; the draft platform of the Central Committee. It is a document for reflection, for profound reflection and for discussion. It is not one of the old resolutions for which everyone voted. It is not a directive which you and I have to fulfill. It is an object for reflection. Everyone is waiting to see what we are going to submit—what proposals; whether we will approve or reject everything unrestrainedly; and what constructive proposals will come from us. We must voice our standpoint without haste, in a profound and very well-considered manner.

We have already been able to meet the party aktiv of Leningrad and the oblast. We have listened to the communists. We have heard criticism, too, of course; criticism aimed at us and—already—at the plenum. However, we continue to hold the same position as the party Central Committee. We must now think constructively about what we will present, what we are moving toward, what we are going to do, and how we are going to do it.

The most important thing for us now is the issue of holding the 28th party congress. This is a most relevant task. We know that everyone wants direct elections of delegates to the congress. We will also talk about a Leningrad party conference and a congress of communists of Russia. [end recording]

[Newsreader] Yes, the participants in the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of which Boris Veniaminovich Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom, has just spoken, touched on a whole range of profound, often contradictory, but invariably interesting opinions; about Article Six in the Constitution and about the multiparty system. I am sure that the right to a vanguard role must be proven by the advantages of a political program and by concrete deeds for the benefit of the people. One must not fear dissent.

Political & Social

London DAILY EXPRESS Profiles Gorbachev

PM1302164090 London DAILY EXPRESS in English 13 Feb 90 pp 20-21

[Daniel McGrory article: "The Red Star Who Changed the World"—first part of a three-part series; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] In five momentous years Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has changed the course of history. Voted Man of the Decade, he defied dictators, humiliated his generals and sacked his rivals as he presided over the demolition of the Berlin Wall and the downfall of communism.

Yet his life has been shaped by strong women who, from his grandmother to wife Raisa, have played a crucial part in the making of Misha. In this three-part series, we chart the rise of the boy destined to be a Red star.

Had a girlfriend not spoken sharply to Mikhail Gorbachev about his youthful ambitions, he might now be an actor rather the consummate political performer of his age.

Misha was 16, handsome and vain. Strutting about the cramped school changing-room in his home-made prince's costume and fake moustache, he confided to his leading lady, Yuliya Karagodina, that his heart was set on applying to a theatrical institute in Moscow.

Walking home that evening, huddled together against the biting wind, Yuliya bluntly told him to forget his foolish notions and devote his energies to impressing the Communist Party where the teenage Misha was already a local celebrity.

Yuliya says: "Misha was a good actor. He had a magnetic presence, and all the girls were attracted to him.

"He would talk about us going to Moscow when we finished high school, but I knew he would grow up and we would grow apart. I knew Misha would leave us all behind - and I was right."

There always seems to have been a strong woman around to shape Misha's life, beginning in Privolnoye - a farming town tucked away in the wastes of the Caucasus, where the River Yegorlik oozes and shoves its way through the parched earth of the Russian steppes.

The formidable Grandmother Gopkalo insisted soon after Mikhail Sergeyevich was born in March 1931 that he be baptised a Christian and took him to church, which was a dangerous pursuit in Stalin's Russia. He confesses her values had a profound influence on him.

His family survived the famine and purges better than most, as his grandfather ran one of Stalin's collective farms, which taught Misha a valuable lesson that, to profit, you have to play by the party rules.

He was a frail, awkward child with sullen, black eyes staring out from beneath an untidy thatch of hair that hid his birthmark. Even today, this is left out of the official portraits you see in the Soviet Union.

When he was ten his father Sergey, a mechanic, went off to fight the Nazis, leaving his mother, Mariya Pantelyevna, to raise him alone and work the fields in the choking dust of summer and the numbing winters. Misha had to wrap himself in straw at nights in their two-room mud hut to stop from freezing.

Mariya kept religious icons hidden behind Stalin's portrait. At nights she would read to her son and infuse him with the idea that there must be a better -and kinder - way.

Family friend Girogiy Gorlov recalls it was Mariya who was always the first to raise her voice at village meetings. "She was a very stubborn, spirited woman, but highly intelligent. Misha obviously took on his mother's character."

For years Gorbachev has been pestering his mother to move to Moscow, where his much younger brother Aleksandr is a minor bureaucrat in the defence ministry, but the willful Mariya refuses to leave Privolnoye.

The town has acquired one paved road from where the KGB keeps a wary eye on her neat, white-bricked bungalow to deter the curious from peering through the blue-shuttered windows.

Now 76, Mariya rarely leaves the house, and refuses to pose for photographs except on special occasions such as when both sons return next month to celebrate her and Misha's birthday at a rare family gathering.

It should be no suprise that his former schools are suitably flattering about their famous old boy and gladly recount heroic tales of how he walked ten miles to attend lessons where - predictably - he achieved impeccable grades.

Again at Krasnogvardeskoye High School, it was a woman who exerted most influence, Misha loathed sports and was grateful when his favourite teacher Yuliya Sumtsova, persuaded him to join the drama club where he proved a much-sought-after romantic lead.

Rehearsals were the perfect excuse to spend more time with Yuliya Karagodina, a teacher's daughter with lustrous blonde hair and piercing blue eyes who has since married and divorced.

Leafing through those momentoes, her every remark and every look betray the affection she still has for her first boyfriend, though with obvious embarrassment she stresses theirs was an entirely innocent affair.

"It was a sparkling time with Misha, which I enjoyed. But we never said things like 'I love you'. We were close friends and we cared for and helped each other. If he put his arm around me as if to say, 'Let's go to the movies or something', I would kind of glance at his hand. No, it wasn't like young people today."

Yuliya's recollections—like others in his classes who foreigners are permitted to meet—include the fearless way he argued with teachers about communist ideology and how he led the school's Komsomol, the party's youth league.

She soon learnt where his loyalties lay after he publicly rebuked her for failing to complete a party task. Then, as she was reduced to tears in front of a cinema full of comrades, he calmly asked for a date, saying: "My dear, one thing has nothing to do with the other".

He at least took her advice to forget a theatrical career, and in September 1950 went to Moscow State University to study law.

Stories are told, which he doesn't deny, that he got his first party job after he got his rival hopelessly drunk on the eve of the election.

Comrades remember him as faintly ridiculous figure. He was never seen without his party badge on the lapel of his one blue suit that he rapidly outgrew. He gave long, rambling speeches in his rolling, gutteral accent that only made his sophisticated audience laugh.

A friend from that time, Dr. Zdenek Mlynar, was an exchange student from Prague and remembers Misha as "intellectually curious and a realist, so he was something of a doubter about the party, but he wasn't a radical".

Misha's reputation at university was as something of a swot. Because of his diabetes he couldn't drink more than a glass of two of vodka, which wasn't much of a sacrifice as he hated drunkenness and rather preferred the company of women, who sought him out.

Most of them seemed an unsuitable match for a country boy, though he was intent on bettering himself. Even his accent changed, though it was his marriage to Raisa that rounded off the last rough edges.

Dr. Mlynar says: "She was a prestige object, just like she is today." For the rational Misha, falling in love was very disturbing. Another friend, Rudolf Kolchanov says: "He fell for Raisa right away. He was head-over-heels and walked about numb for a week."

He didn't have the family credentials to get a decent party job in Moscow so, after graduating in 1955, he had to retreat to his home turf between the Black and Caspian Seas and work as a party functionary in Stavropol.

Raisa proved to be a huge asset with party dignitaries, who were captivated by this beautiful, opinionated woman so unlike the babooshkas they married.

Gorbachev was appalled at Leonid Brezhnev's behaviour as leader - inviting cronies and foreign diplomats to his dacha where naked young girls swam in his heated pool and singers banned in the Soviet Union entertained at his drunken orgies.

KGB chief Yuriy Andropov similarly loathed Brezhnev and championed Gorbachev. At 31 Misha was a talent spotter for the party. Eight years later, in 1970, he became First Secretary of Stavropol and its 2.5 million inhabitants.

His record in Stavropol wasn't that impressive. Even so, Andropov arranged a bizarre meeting at a railway station in Mineralnyye vody in September 1978 where Gorbachev met Brezhnev and Konstantin Chernenko during their brief stopover.

For three hours, Russia's next four leaders met in a draughty waiting-room while Misha outlined his plans to shake up a bankrupt economy.

Brezhnev grunted and said nothing, but must have been impressed, as a month later 47-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev was summoned to the Kremlin. A Tsar was born.

Shevardnadze 'Style,' Work Habits Viewed

AU0802132590 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 2-3 Feb 90 p 8

[Bogdan Ivanov article: "Shevardnadze's Style"]

[Excerpts] At 2000, 2100, 2200, and even 2300 in the evening the entire seventh floor in the "big house" in Moscow's center, where Eduard Shevardnadze's office is, the lights are turned on. The USSR minister of foreign affairs is still working, and so is his staff—12 deputies, more than 30 leaders of directorates and departments, advisers, and aides. This is the situation for the fifth year already, every day, every week, every Saturday, and often, every Sunday. [passage omitted]

I did not have a greater surprise in my life than my appointment as USSR minister of foreign affairs, Eduard Amvrosiyevich admits. This was the beginning of sleepless nights, one million torments, doubts, concerns....

His adviser, Teymuraz Stepanov, told me that within a few months after assuming the post Shevardnadze had lost 10 kg, that he works 16-18 hours every day, that every minute he must defend his honor as an unprofessional politician in a department full of excellent professionals, that everybody talks about him all the time, that he is being constantly tested by the huge collective, and that he says to those close to him "I feel like a first-grade student." However, thanks to his ability to immediately isolate the most important elements, even when this remains invisible to others, to exclude everything else, and to concentrate on the main factors, while simultaneously acting in a spirit of criticism and self-motivation, he copes with his tasks. [passage omitted]

What is the goal of each of your trips and talks, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, I asked at our meeting. What is their common denominator?

The most important thing, as minister of foreign affairs, is to utilize every opportunity in order to create maximum positive international climate for restructuring. We must eliminate confrontation, turn it into dialogue, and turn suspicion into cooperation. The image of the enemy is an obsolete factor. The fierce ideological struggle cannot unite us. We must objectively and realistically seek the calm tone and confidence in words and deeds. The nations are not isolated from each other. They are surrounded by friends, and sometimes by enemies. Therefore, the private interests must not harm the common ones, and should not interfere with the harmony of our comprehensive activity, Shevardnadze clarified his positions.

Those visions of the foreign minister can be described as "dynamics within the framework of stability," and perhaps this is the philosophic formula of "Shevardnadze's style."

Undoubtedly, Eduard Amvrosiyevich adheres to the specific historical approach in the delicate interpretation of the universal and national interests. Since for him man is a fantastically complex structure that has many beautiful elements, as well as many cracked and obsolete elements, he very delicately opens the door, enters, and begins to work carefully and patiently, so that the structure becomes even more beautiful.

Man is not merely a painting, Shevardnadze frequently says, and those who know him well understand the essence of his words: One must not judge man only on the basis of external, visible factors.

A strict order has been established in the USSR: The people's deputies propose several candidates for every post in the government, discuss them, argue with the candidates, subject them to a difficult test, and only they approve them. When Shevardnadze's turn came Mikhail Gorbachev exclaimed: "Nobody 'against!' This is the first time that I have seen such unanimity!"

Now, when I think about this, I reach the following conclusion: Some 2,250 people's deputies have voted not only for the man and the politician Eduard Shevardnadze, and not only for the foreign minister of the USSR. They have voted for the "Shevardnadze's style," for the new type of leader, for the new political thinking, and for the new style and selfless work, devoted to restructuring.

During the meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze, I asked him:

Are you satisfied with your achievements as minister?

I am satisfied with the changes in the foreign policy image of our country, Eduard Amvrosiyevich answered. It suffices to see how today Mikhail Gorbachev is greeted by the people of those states that until very recently treated us with suspicion, and even in a hostile manner. Now we have more friends, and we are better understood. There is no doubt—the USSR's international prestige has increased.

As far as the personal achievements of the USSR minister of foreign affairs are concerned, I do not think so much about them as about what is yet to be done. I constantly feel the heavy burden of the responsibility....

The responsibility, I say to myself also is a holy law in "Shevardnadze's style...."

Shishlin Notes Possible Change of CPSU Name

LD1302034890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0123 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Brussels, Feb 13 (TANJUG)—Nikolay Shishlin, political adviser to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, has indicated in an interview with Belgian journalists the possibility that the Soviet Communist Party might change its name to Social-Democratic Party.

Asserting in an interview published in the dailies LD SOIR and DE MORGEN that the party could change its name, Shishlin said that "it remains unknown at the moment."

[Words indistinct] Soviet Communist Party had been born out of social-democracy, i.e., from the Russian Social-Democratic Party at the time of Lenin.

Shishlin also signalled a reconstruction of the Soviet Federation, which did not "exclude the future of the Soviet Union as a confederation."

"A new compact on the Soviet Union," about which all the country's republics should reach accord by the end of the year, forsees that they all "remain under the same umbrella," but if any republic does not accept that umbrella, Moscow will "allow it to go," Shishlin said.

He explained that the reconstruction would practically result in independence for all republics—they would be granted true sovereignty but would retain their ties, which would not have to be the same among all republics.

It is still early to say what the republics would retain as commnon—most probably, the system of defense, communications and the production and distribution of power.

Shostakovskiy Discusses CPSU Changes

PM1202094890 Paris LIBERATION in French 5 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, leadership member of the Democratic Forum, by Pierre Briancon—date and place not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, who is 52 years old, is one of the leaders of the "Democratic Platform" set up by groups of reformers in the CPSU with a view to preparations for the 28th Congress: This is the first time in the party's contemporary history that a "faction"—theoretically prohibited by the existing statutes—has been openly organized. Shostakovskiy spoke to LIBERATION about what is at stake at the plenum and the congress.

"The essential problem," he said, "is that the Communist Party is lagging considerably behind society's developments. The process of internal democratic renewal is not taking place as it ought, and the resolutions adopted at the conference (in June 1988—LIBERATION editor's note) have not even been implemented."

[Briancon] Your gamble is rather like Gorbachev's: To make the party change before it is too late....

[Shostakovskiy] I do not know how Gorbachev sees things and I do not really see what his aim is. What is clear is that the process is too slow. There has been no change in relations within the party since the twenties, when we moved away from fundamental principles like the equality of communists or freedom of criticism within the party. Power is now exercised by a minority, and the grass-roots communists feel isolated and do not participate in policy-making.

[Briancon] Are you in favor of abandoning the leadership role?

[Shostakovskiy] I am in favor of abandoning Article 6 of the Constitution, and I would prefer the party itself to propose this to increase people's confidence. I hope that the plenum will make a decision on this point, which will be rather late, but nonetheless.... Indeed, we are on the threshold of a multiparty system which already exists in many regions of the country. But I think that the Communist Party can still play a decisive role in the country's politics. Provided it is radically reformed. We must hold dialogue with other parties and movements instead of being a closed party. We must abandon our claim to a monopoly. And, initially, we need platforms and factions in the party, united only by strategic priorities. This would make it possible for some people to leave—those still adhering to their neo-Stalinist positions.

[Briancon] Are you thinking of Ligachev?

[Shostakovskiy] Ligachev represents conservatism—conservatives are always needed in political life. They are the kind of people who have always lived in complete conformity, who have learned nothing from life. They are afraid of private ownership because that would "make the country capitalist" even if they do not really know what that means. They are people who defend the sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes [collective farms] at all costs, however they function.... I hope that the plenum will break with this kind of policy, and adopt a radical reform platform. But even the conservatives are not very united: There are those who are color-blind, but also people capable of understanding what is happening, learning from it, at least out of an instinct for self-preservation.

[Briancon] Do you think that they have definitely lost?

[Shostakovskiy] There is no alternative. Statements on the risks of a return to a hard-line policy, and so forth, are not based on a serious analysis. And, in the center, Gorbachev's centrist line has been worn down and eroded. It is a good thing to have the art of compromise, but it is not the only method of government.

[Briancon] If the proposed official platform satisfied you, would you withdraw your own program for the congress?

[Shostakovskiy] As they say in Odessa, we will see.... The essential thing for us will be to be able to defend our ideas during the selection of Congress delegates. This is the second important issue of the plenum: The conservatives are basing their attitude on the existing statutes which make provision for elections in several stages, a filtering of candidates. We want the delegates to be directly elected by the grass-roots organizations. This is very important because, even if a "reforming" congress can be elected by the existing methods, the people will have no confidence and it would be seen as a new instance of behind-the-scenes maneuvering. Second, the congress must serve to release a new potential of cadres for the party, and we certainly need them.

[Briancon] Seen from outside, the rector of the Higher Party School is a conventional apparatchik....

[Shostakovskiy] I am an ultra-conventional apparatchik.... Before holding this position, I worked in the Central Committee apparatus where I was in charge of cadres. I had a very politically active student life—that was after the 20th Congress (the "de- Stalinization" congress in 1961—LIBERATION editor's note), and I joined the party in 1961. But I was appointed to this post in December 1986 at the proposal of the Moscow party, which was headed by Boris Yeltsin at the time....

[Briancon] During the launch of this "Democratic Platform," Yuriy Afanasyev, historian and deputy, who took part in it, asked the party to abandon "Leninism." Do you agree with him?

[Shostakovskiy] I have known Yuriy Nikolayevich for 25 years and we are friends, but his statement is rather direct, and I do not share it. What is true is that in our country Lenin became an icon, with Stalin's active participation, moreover. We must abandon this ridiculous deification, and objectively assess his legacy. After all, he was a human being. The important thing is to analyze Leninism, understand why we came to have this party in this state. That is more important than mere rejection....

Judicial Expert Examines Crime Increase

90UN0876A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Feb 90 First Edition p 6

[Report on interview with V.V. Bobyrev, deputy chief of the Irkutsk Internal Affairs Administration, by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's own correspondent N. Vokina: "Hunting Lizards"]

[Text] "I do not feel like opening a newspaper or turning on the TV set: It is too scary! The people try not to leave the house from the moment it gets dark. The streets grow empty and the entrance ways are locked up. If somebody is studying or working the night shift you can go crazy until he gets home. I do not know about others, but I am tired. I am trying to understand what is happening around us? From where, from which black holes did all this trash creep out? But the more I think about it, the more questions I have."

This is the beginning of a letter to the editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA from G. Chernyatskaya who lives in the Siberian city of Bratsk. Her despair is quite understandable: Crime is on the rise in our country and our fight against it resembles hunting a lizard—you catch it by the tail and the lizard grows another one right away. Last year alone serious crime grew by 42 percent compared with 1988. "Where are the police? Where are the laws? Where, finally, is the government with its guarantee of personal immunity?" our readers ask.

These pointed questions started a conversation with the deputy head of the UVD [Internal Affairs Administration] of the Irkutsk oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee], Candidate of Jurisprudence V.V. Bobyrev.

[Bobyrev] I know about the criminal atmosphere in Bratsk not only in the line of duty, but also as a candidate for people's deputy of Russia from the 38th Bratsk National-Territorial Okrug. The problems of fighting crime are constantly discussed at the pre-election meetings. The people are very worried. The problems of Bratsk are typical for many other areas of the country, even though Bratsk is one of the worst cities in the Angara region in this respect. I am also looking for the reasons why the situation has grown worse and I come to the conclusion that it could have been predicted.

In the mid-1980's it was decided to make the criminal legislation more humane. In 1986-87 the figures started looking much more attractive; it seemed that the crime rate was dropping sharply. But it just appeared so. Criminals began to be punished by probation rather than imprisonment much more often than before. On the one hand, that was good as humaneness is a most important feature of a civilized society. But what happened in reality? The social and economic contradictions became more pronounced and they are always accompanied by an explosion of the shadow economy as well as by violent crime and crime for personal gain. More than half of all law offenders were sentenced, but in reality they stayed out of prison. First, that created an illusion of impunity and, second, it provided conditions for crime growth in the nearest future. Which is what we have today.

I must say that our law enforcing officials were also caught unawares. We found many shortcomings in our present laws and they should be removed. But work on improvement of legislation has been taking a very long time. So the lawyers found themselves in a difficult position. What should they do when the old regulations have been all but destroyed by criticism and the new ones are still being designed? They also started to pay much more attention to "public opinion" which is also quite contradictory (another feature of our times). The people come down hard on the police, the courts, and the procuracy in two instances: when they do not defend the people or when they do defend them!

A very typical occasion is mentioned in the letter of the Bratsk woman: Two policemen are trying to detain an armed hoodlum and one of them raises his truncheon. So, what do you think? Somebody screams at them from the balcony of the house next door: "You do not have the right to do that!"

[Fokina] But you have to agree, Valentin Vasilyevich, that the reputation of the police suffered because of their own officers, too.

[Bobyrev] I am not saying it did not. A lot of complaints can be justified. But we have a situation now in which the inefficiency and incompetence of our officials are aggravated by a lack of comprehensive regulations and this serves to the criminals' advantage. During the trial they can claim that the investigator had applied pressure to make them testify. They have the right to do that but the investigator has no protection from any lies or slander. When his colleagues see how much time and energy he spends to restore his good reputation, they decide not to be so zealous. And so the next time he himself will cut his work down to the minimum and try to avoid all the sharp corners.

Who suffers most from this practice? The simplest people do, people like G. Chernyatskaya. For that reason it is absolutely necessary to define the basic regulations for the work of the law enforcement bodies. We need a flexible and operational judicial mechanism to protect the police from unavoidable conflicts both with the citizens and the law.

[Fokina] In my opinion, there is also another danger in putting off work on the new legislation. The people, worn out by fears, will demand that they be defended by any means and nobody then will want to hear about being humane. Even now there appear more and more adherents to the idea of capital punishment. This woman's letter also has some lines that to me seem terrifying: "Sentences of capital punishment for heinous crimes should be given without any consideration of age." What if we are dealing with teen-agers?

[Bobyrev] They are the ones the woman means when she is talking about criminal laws being too soft on teen-agers: "If my children did something of the kind, I would have dealt with them with my own hands." This, of course, is just emotions but we have to consider them, too. Crime grew a lot younger during the last decade. The percentage of 14- and 15-year-olds doubled. And what is most disturbing is the fact that every fifth criminal of those who had a suspended sentence or were put on probation committed a crime again last year. This definitely makes us wonder how imperfectly justice is administered in practice. However, if we start treating teen-agers the same way we do especially dangerous repeat offenders, we will reap even more evil. And this is the cornerstone of all crime. Either it will reproduce, or it will be eliminated.

"If our society seriously intends to fight the most dangerous forms of crime, we have to start by eliminating the many reasons which cause teen-agers to turn to crime," as Minister of Internal Affairs V.V. Bakatin said at the 2nd Congress of USSR Peoples Deputies. The trouble is that there are too many of these reasons: broken families—most of the criminals grew up in incomplete families. Just think about it: The drama of divorce makes 350,000 children suffer every year. As a result we have an increase in the number of teen-agers with psychological disorders. There are 1.4 million of them today and many have pronounced criminal tendencies. There is also a school crisis, a loss of interest for studying. We polled PTU [vocational and technical school] students once and discovered that 70 percent of them do not want to study. You can add to this the propaganda of violence and pornography that penetrate our country through the channels of videotape trading. Let us not forget the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] crisis and the destruction of many ideals. But even all of this does not hurt the worst. Look at the trend of teen-age crime: 80 percent of it is due to things, things, and again things. Is this a "transformation" of morality? In part it is. It is normal now to call a regular worker's life a beggar's life. Class differences become especially painful for teen-agers and that breeds many crimes and not only juvenile ones.

[Fokina] It is not just crime that we fear now. Too many hardships fell upon the people at once. Psycologically we were not ready for them; we believed naively that the government should comply with all of our demands whether it gets anything in return or not. Now that our demands are not met we are trying to find a way to justify all kinds of illegal activities. The woman from Bratsk put her finger right on it: "What have we come to!" she writes. "Now we justify theft of anything by its unavailability. Some valid reason!"

[Bobyrev] That is not a reason, of course, but a true psychological shield for a criminal. I used to hear the indignant statements: If the government cannot provide me with what I need in a lawful way, then I will get it by any means. It is just a subterfuge. A person who sets his mind on stealing first makes a bargain with his conscience. That is where the reason for his action lies. On top of that, whatever was stolen gets sold in 99 cases out of 100. If it goes undetected, the person will steal until he gets caught. Shortages of goods are playing into these people' hands because they can sell what they have stolen. Here is fertile soil and it is not that easy to pull all the weeds out of it.

I would be happy to calm down my compatriot from Bratsk and all other readers of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA with an optimistic reassurance that we will do it soon. But real optimism should be based on a realistic situation which, unfortunately, is not getting better. We cannot place a policeman behind every dishonest salesperson; we cannot provide guards for every young people's discotheque; we cannot transform our society into one big vigilante force or put police uniforms on everyone. Crime takes its roots in politics, economy, and morality, and these are the spheres over which the police do not have any influence. Not that it is required there.

Siberia, for instance, is still considered the place of exile. Every year about 12,000 people with criminal records are sent here. In some cities and some regions of Irkutsk Oblast, one out of every three or four citizens has been on trial. For that reason we are working on a special comprehensive regional program for fighting crime. It is maximally adapted to such a "heritage" and we have named it "Law and Order 95." We used a retrospective analysis to define the sore points; we calculated how much we will have to spend on their treatment and what material and technical resources it will involve. The estimated expenses seem quite large, of course, but the essence of the program is in the fact that it unites separate efforts of many groups of people interested in the solution of this crucial problem.

Internal Affairs Ministry Reports Increased Crime

LD1302151990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—Journalists were informed today by the country's Ministry for Internal Affairs that the crime rate continued to increase last year. In 1989 internal affairs' bodies and the public prosecutor's office recorded 2,461,692 crimes, that is, 594,469 more than in the previous year. Moreover, the increase in crime was observed in all regions of the country.

In comparison with 1988, the number of crimes within the jurisdiction of the Criminal Investigation Department alone increased last year by 45 percent. The number of unsolved crimes more than doubled.

Almost one in seven recorded crimes, committed in 1989, was serious. Two-thirds of murders, serious physical assaults, and more than a half of rapes, robberies, and acts of hooliganism were committed under the influence of alcohol.

The degree of participation by minors in crimes has grown. Every fourth crime is committed directly by adolescents or with their participation.

Objective difficulties in the social adaptation of people released from prisons has caused the high level of recidivist crime. Every third crime, 40 percent of murders and serious physical assaults, rapes and robberies, and more than half of muggings were committed by people with previous convictions.

The proportion of group crimes is significant. Every fourth serious crime was committed in a group.

It was noted at the briefing that these alarming tendencies in the structure and dynamics of crime have required the adoption of suitable measures in reaction. In January of this year, interdepartmental groups to fight separate forms of crime were formed.

Moscow 'Closed' to Soviet Visitors From 17 Feb

LD1302093690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0223 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 13 (TANJUG)—As of Saturday, February 17, Moscow will be closed until the end of June for visitors from the country's interior and also for transport vehicles.

Moscow's city soviet decided thus to control crimes that have been on a dramatic ascent. Last year the number of heavy criminal acts rose by 82 per cent from a year earlier.

City soviet representatives said that the particular problem was posed by the fact that armed bandits smuggled themselves in the city alongside refugees from Azerbaijan.

An official denial was issued about the step being allegedly aimed at preventing meetings organized by alternative groups and movements in Moscow. Street marches, public meetings and demonstrations are allowed, it was made clear. But, to be sure, people from the interior would not be able take part in such demonstrations until the end of June, and this naturally holds good also for an "all-union meeting" planned to be held on February 25.

Protestors Support Anti-Corruption Investigators

AU0902205890 Paris AFP in English 2008 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 9 (AFP)—Several hundred demonstrators gathered outside the offices of IZVESTIYA here Friday and burned copies of the Soviet government daily to express support for two leading magistrates accused of abusing their authority during an anti-corruption investigation. The some 800 demonstrators were protesting against a decision by the state prosecutor Thursday to lift the parliamentary immunity of the two magistrates, Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov, who are also deputies.

They gathered in Pushkin Square close by the IZVESTIYA offices and chanted slogans criticising the newspaper, which approved an application Thursday by the state prosecutor to have the magistrates' immunity lifted. Banners carried slogans such as "Hands Off Our Deputies" and "A Trial Against Gdlyan is a Trial Against the People."

The prosecutor had asked the Supreme Soviet, the country's highest authority, to "relieve (them) of their duties and render them responsible before the law." Mr. Gdlyan and Mr. Ivanov have accused several leading Soviet officials, including a prominent conservative politburo member, of involvement in corruption during the course of their investigations into a cotton scandal in Uzbekistan, in central Asia.

KGB Collegium Reviews Progress of Rehabilitation

LD1302122390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] A report has arrived from the USSR Committee for State Security on a session of the [committee's] collegium. As you know, work is continuing on the rehabilitation of citizens unjustifiably repressed in the 1930s, 1940s, and the beginning of the 1950s. The committee's collegium has examined the progress of this work. The scale of repressions has been established. In that time, 3,778,234 people were convicted. Of these, 786,098 were shot. Among them where leaders of the party and state, scientists, generals, figures in literature and the arts, workers and peasants, and also chekists who did not want to work according to the methods of Yezhov's and Beriya's henchmen.

Results of rehabilitation work have been summed up. Last year and the year before, 844,740 people were rehabilitated. The search for sites of burial of the victims of Stalin's tyranny is continuing, in order to eternalize the memory of them.

Shishlin Interviewed on 'Political Struggle'

LD1102135190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Interview granted by Nikolay Shishlin, "Party spokesman and head of department of the (CPSU) Central Committee" to correspondent Jozsef Barath, in Moscow; date not specified; carried in the "World Clock" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Barath] Many people write in the world press about the fact that the Soviet leadership has crossed the Rubicon; the Soviet regime has changed; this is not the regime which was left by Lenin; this is not bolshevism any more. [passage omitted]

[Shishlin] The era of taboos generally is on its way out here. Our most important teacher has to be life itself, the realities. [passage omitted]

[Barath] So, what next? Elections based on a multiparty system, perhaps soon, in the spring? Since it has to be recognized that in the Soviet Union, de facto, there is a multiparty system already. The patriotic fronts, the election associations are all the germs of certain parties which could participate in the spring elections.

[Shishlin] All you say is true. Not only in the various republics, but also the large number of formations in Russia—which, for now, are called movements—are the germs of parties. There is a very stormy year ahead of us, in the course of which new political formations will arise. Some of these will disappear instantly. No doubt that fierce political struggle is about to start, and there will be extremes. However, I think that the CPSU will remain the uniting and integrating force in our society. It started the transformation, is undergoing a transformation, and it initiates far-reaching and radical changes in politics, in the economy, and in intellectual life.

[Barath] How do you explain the explosion and wave of rumors in connection with Gorbachev's position, which culminated before the plenum and which, as I understand, disturbed a number of Soviet experts?

[Shishlin] It is difficult to answer this question because I never believed the rumors. I knew that Gorbachev did not intend to resign, and that his opponents are not strong enough to dismiss him. The complicated political struggle which is going on in the Soviet Union at the moment is reflected in these rumors. The power and initiative, in fact, is in the hands of those forces which are on the side of transformation and reforms. One desparate means for undermining the power of the conservatives, who think that the time has not yet arrived for radical steps, and of the radicals who operate from leftist positions, is the continuing creation of waves of rumors.

[Barath] There is a very interesting phenomena. We know that at the last plenum Gorbachev was very sharply attacked by the conservatives. But when it came to voting, they practically unanimously voted in favor of Gorbachev's initiative, since there was only one vote against, that of the radical, Yeltsin.

[Shishlin] I think this was the result of the participants finally understanding the responsibility placed upon them in them in the present situation. For if they divide and paralyze the party now, then that does not only mean the end of transformation, but at the same time it would mean the end of the party, the fall of the CPSU. This would be unforgivable. However, one must not draw the conclusion from this apparent unity that everybody is united. The struggle continues within the party. However, it will not be possible to take the initiative from Gorbachev. The reins are kept in his hands and in the hands of those supporting him. This is probably very well known by those who allege that Gorbachev was cornered. This is not the situation. The fact is that Gorbachev and the group of his followers became radical. According to local categories, it has moved to the left.

'Opposition' Group Discusses Tactics for Parliament

LD1302221090 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

A proposal to introduce a popularly elected president to the USSR—an idea supported by the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet last Monday—was the focus of participants at today's session of the coordinating council of the inter-regional deputy group.

The group, which is often called the opposition by Western journalists, rallies deputies whose views on a number of issues differ from those of the parliamentary majority.

The session was held on the eve of a regular session of the Soviet Parliament. Its participants discussed the group's tactics at the forthcoming session. The debate was especially heated on what attitude the group should adopt to the idea of a popularly elected president. Various opinions were expressed.

Gavriil Popov, an economist and a co-chairman of the group, Ilmar Bisher, deputy chairman of the Council of Nationalities (one of the chambers of parliament) and some other deputies supported the idea. They regard it as permissible that due to the difficult situation in the country, this time the president will be elected by the Congress of People's Deputies, and not by the direct vote of the population.

Some deputies categorically opposed the election of the president by the Congress of People's Deputies.

Those, who agree in principle with the introduction of a directly elected president, novel in the USSR, were unanimous in their belief that this should be accompanied by firm guarantees of democratic norms. "There must be a strong parliament near a strong president," said Sergey Stankevich from Moscow. He spoke in favour of working out the impeachment procedure, a consolidated status for parliamentary commissions and other measures strengthening the prerogatives of parliament.

Foreign Ministry Concerned Over Israeli Statements

LD0902153490 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 9 TASS—The following statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry was circulated here today:

"The Soviet Union is deeply concerned about pronouncements by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and other officials as regards the settlement of Jewish immigrants, including those from the Soviet Union, on occupied Arab territories. International responses are unequivocally negative.

"The practical implementation of such plans runs counter to generally recognized norms of the international law, leads to an escalation of tension, increases confrontation and extremism in the Middle East, including on occupied territories, and threatens human rights, people's security and lives.

"It creates additional obstacles to a peaceful settlement and undermines recent efforts to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict and to find a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

"The United Nations has repeatedly denounced illegal Israeli settlements on occupied territories and described them as violations of the 4th Geneva Convention, which was signed by Israel.

"According to Article 49 of the Convention, the occupation state cannot deport or move part of its population to an occupied territory.

"The situation that has developed due to Israeli violations of international legal norms on occupied territories, including the declaration on human rights, calls for immediate action by the United Nations and its Security Council.

"The Soviet Union has never recognised the 1967 Israeli occupation of Arab territories, including Palestinian ones. The USSR considers this occupation illegal and demands that it be stopped in accordance with the corresponding U.N. resolutions.

"The Soviet Union is sharply against the creation of these settlements and calls on the Israeli government to stop any actions aimed at changing the physical character, demographic composition, organisational structure or status of occupied lands.

"The Soviet Union hopes that the Israeli government will soberly assess this situation and will firmly and consistently act according to provisions of international legal documents dealing with human rights. This would correspond to the interests of Israel itself."

Decree on Interior Ministry Troops Submitted

LD0702051990 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] A draft of a decree on the rights and duties of Interior Ministry troops has been submitted to the Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and State Security. Moscow's independent news agency INTERFAX says the Interior Ministry troops will do patrol duty during mass political rallies, sports events, and other public activities. They can also be called in if there is a danger of citizen's lives, the property of industries and individuals, and the operation of offices. The draft says that the Interior Ministry troops shall have the right to use, if necessary, rubber truncheons, teargas, water canon, and armored vehicles. In emergencies, for instance, in order to protect peoples' lives, they can even use their weapons.

Deputy Claims No Alternative to CPSU Split

PM0902161490 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 8 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with People's Deputy Yuriy Afanasyev by Fiammetta Cucurnia; date, place not given]

[Text] Moscow—"No, Gorbachev did not convince us, and the split within the CPSU seems inevitable to me now. We will start right away to gather signatures among communists for our grouping's 'democratic platform,' and then it will simply remain to decide whether to present it to the 28th CPSU Congress or to await the congress of a new party."

This was said, at this historic moment for the Soviet Union, by Yuriy Afanasyev, leader of the radical wing in parliament and of the CPSU's "dissident" faction—the man who, with Boris Yeltsin and Gavriil Popov, marched through the gates of the Kremlin last Sunday at the head of the largest public demonstration ever organized in Moscow. While at the plenum the right is declaring war on the general secretary and the apparatus is preparing for the battle for the CPSU's power, the "radical" opposition has already decided on its line and is granting Mikhail Gorbachev no quarter. It is no coincidence that yesterday Boris Yeltsin was the only Central Committee member to vote against the platform that opens the way to the multiparty system in the Soviet Union.

[Cucurnia] Yuriy Nikolayevich, in his plenum report Mikhail Gorbachev took up all the proposals for which your group has fought over the past 18 months: The abolition of Article 6 of the Constitution and the consequent opening up to a multiparty system; and the abandonment of the monopoly of power guaranteed by law and the CPSU's consequent entry into the arena of a "democratic" political contest with the other political forces. Why, then, so much dissatisfaction?

[Afanasyev] Taken individually, Gorbachev's proposals cannot fail to prompt complete satisfaction. But the fact is that they are coming too late, when the debate has left the symbolic context—such as that of the abolition of Article 6—and assumed concrete characteristics. It must be announced now that the party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo will forego forever the authority to make decisions concerning the country's social, political, economic, and cultural development. It must be announced that party organizations will disappear from the factories, the schools, the ministries, and the Army. It must be announced that no political force can claim a vanguard role within society. But this has not been announced. In fact all there was was an acknowledgment of the existing situation, with an avoidance of drawing the direct conclusions.

[Cucurnia] Do you not believe that Gorbachev did his utmost, in view of the fierce resistance from the apparatus, and that his proposal to create a presidential institution in the USSR is designed precisely to separate him from the conservatives' pressure so that he can carry forward the reform?

[Afanasyev] If this were so, if there were a precise plan of action on all the issues that closely affect the country's future and interests, I would be the first to vote for a presidential republic. But since this precondition is entirely lacking and it has still not been said in which direction it is intended to take the country, I believe that to concentrate further power in a president's hands would simply worsen the situation and strengthen authoritarian temptations.

[Cucurnia] But, Yuriy Nikolayevich, Gorbachev's plenum speech does give signs of a precise plan for social change, do you not think?

[Afanasyev] No, I do not see it. That speech seems to me a mosaic of isolated assertions, without a connecting thread capable of giving us a clear picture of Gorbachev's intentions.

[Cucurnia] And yet—at least, judging from the fierce reaction that we are witnessing—the party's entire conservative area, headed by Ligachev, feels fatally threatened by it.

[Afanasyev] That does not surprise me. The present party Central Committee is so conservative as to reject the mere hypothesis of any change that would reduce the CPSU's power. Its aim is to conserve democratic centralism and iron discipline forever.

[Cucurnia] So what should Gorbachev do?

[Afanasyev] Adopt a stance, align himself resolutely, say whose side he is on. Then part of the party can decide to follow Ligachev, and the other part will unite around the democratic platform.

[Cucurnia] A split?

[Afanasyev] I see no alternative.

[Cucurnia] So is Leninism dead forever?

[Afanasyev] It is already part of history. Democratic centralism, party discipline, and the right to a political monopoly within society that Lenin proposed and theorized about are no longer in line with the present situation. I believe this must be stated out loud and with the utmost seriousness.

[Cucurnia] Yuriy Nikolayevich, does this mean that there will be no reappraisals or truces and that your group will split the CPSU before the 28th congress?

[Afanasyev] On 11 January we will convene our group's coordinating council to discuss the plenum results. Then I believe we will move on to gathering signatures among communists for the "democratic platform." Then there will be two alternative programs competing within the party—the official CPSU program and ours. Each communist will be able to choose which of the two to support. Then we will convene a conference to decide whether to present ourselves [as published] at the 28th congress or to set to work for the first congress of a new—not necessarily communist—party.

Paper Quoted on Age, Profile of Party Members

LD0402222790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [Sagalayev] Journalists and politologists throughout the world, and in our country, are constructing various forecasts and expressing their expectations about the future results of the work of the plenum. Here, for example, the last issue of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY publishes information on the age and social profile of members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission. Figures like this are quoted there: 61 percent of the Central Committee are people of pensionable age or coming up to it, while in the leading organs of the party, of 560 people, some 500 occupy official posts, and farreaching conclusions are drawn on the basis of this analysis concerning the capabilities of the party's leading organs.

I would not want to get ahead of events—after all, we need wisdom and experience no less then energy, youth, and resolution. The plenum will show how acutely the desires of the so-called rank and file communists and the nonparty people are sensed in the upper echelons of party power. [passage omitted]

Burlatskiy Argues for Presidential Council

PM1302170590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by USSR People's Deputy F. Burlatskiy under the "Deputy's Stance" rubric: "The President and the Separation of Powers"]

[Text] Recent events have shown that democratization within the country is entering a new phase. Urgent steps are needed to ensure that the whole business of reconstructing our society does not get out of control.

Why are we so helpless when illegal actions occur in various regions of the country? The answer is obvious. First, old institutions of power are enfeebled, considerably compromised, and demoralized. And new political institutions have not yet been fully formed, have not determined their activity and responsibility, and have proved unprepared for conflict situations. Second, we are only now beginning to realize that a firm authority capable of overcoming resistance from both a section of the bureaucracy and anarchic elements operating among broad strata of the population is needed to implement profound structural reforms, including reforms in the sphere of democracy.

We are the only country with effectively no head of state and one of few countries where the government lacks full powers for government activity. These claims sound surprising, but this is incontrovertible fact.

Can the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium or the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopt the necessary decisions in the event of social or national conflicts? The aforementioned bodies could not provide an adequate response to the Armenian blockade, the massacre of Meskhetian Turks in Fergana, strikes in the coalfields, and illegal demonstrations in various regions of the country.

But perhaps such questions relate to the competence of the USSR Council of Ministers? In resolving conflict situations of late, we have seen that the government lacks the requisite powers for this. We must not lose sight of the fact that throughout the years of Soviet power the government has concentrated its activity on economic, social, and cultural problems. Political problems were completely under the jurisdiction of party bodies.

Many people see the way out as being to ensure that the USSR Supreme Soviet or even the Congress of USSR People's Deputies consider all questions in our life—even the most urgent and acute. They assume that this embodies the principle of sovereignty for the soviets. However, practical experience has already adequately demonstrated the ineffectiveness of this approach. We all remember what happened as soon as the question of the blockade on the railroad from Azerbaijan to Armenia began to be discussed. These republics' elected deputies—moreover, without exception—invariably got up and criticized the other republic's actions, justifying their own. But the solution of questions was put off all the time, and even the delegation of powers to the government did not advance the settlement of the conflict between the two republics.

We have the naive misconception that a presidential regime is less democratic than a parliamentary regime. But it suffices to cite the experience of two countries like the United States and France to see how unfounded this is. In France, for instance, the president is the head of state and directs the activity of the government. Every Wednesday Francois Mitterrand chairs a session of the government cabinet, including of course the prime minister, where all the main decisions on domestic and foreign policy questions are elaborated. I am not saying that the French president makes all the most important appointments to state posts, barring those made by parliament.

It cannot be denied that our country has had enough of personal, authoritarian power. We must now conceive a system of guarantees against the presidential regime's future slide into something of that ilk. What additional guarantees are there here?

First, the principle of a vote of confidence in the government should be included in the USSR Constitution. If most USSR Supreme Soviet deputies express no confidence, the government resigns. Second, the possibility of the president's impeachment if he violates the USSR Constitution.

I am convinced that we must return to the principle of the separation of powers, which is accepted throughout the civilized world, in order to ensure that the Soviet parliament is indeed a parliament, the government is indeed the government, and the head of state is the head of state, while judicial organs retain their complete independence of any authority.

Many squabbles of late have occurred precisely owing to the confusion of authority. All bodies of power as it were lack the powers to react to situations and conflicts arising in society. Recognition and practical implementation of a true separation of powers is the way out. All power belongs not to any body but to the people. They are the only sovereign source of power.

It is the people who delegate power to various institutions—parliament, the president, and the courts—and who form the ensemble and at the same time the balance of forces, which control one another and prevent power from being usurped by one institution. This idea, expressed in the 18th century by Montesquieu, became practice in all Western states and most developing countries in the 20th century. Our state is one of the few exceptions.

Stalin concentrated all power in his hands while party central committee general secretary, without holding state posts for a long time. After Stalin's death, this tradition was not completely eliminated and many current domestic and foreign policy questions were resolved within party rather than state bodies.

However, at present the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat are increasingly concentrating their attention on key questions of political strategy and ideology, and cadres. Economic, social, and political reforms in the USSR have raised extremely complex questions of socialist renewal, the formation of a planned market economy, a new-type federation, and a rule-of-law state, and new thinking in the international arena. Naturally under these conditions party bodies cannot help but transfer many of their previous functions to the appropriate state bodies. However, the question does arise of how prepared our state's institutions are for this.

It must above all be noted that the USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution has not quite clearly resolved the questions of the powers and functions of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Such powers as giving the Congress of USSR

People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet reports on the situation in the country and important USSR foreign and domestic policy questions, ensuring the USSR's defense capability and security, holding talks and signing USSR international treaties, and chairing the USSR Defense Council, along with other tasks, are under his jurisdiction.

These functions obviously cannot be fulfilled exclusively with the assistance of the USSR Supreme Soviet apparatus without the active involvement of the leaders of the appropriate ministries and departments—foreign and internal affairs, defense, and other state bodies fulfilling political functions. However, the law does not define the form in which and on the basis of which powers the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet can exercise these functions and enlist the appropriate organs and departments. This contradiction is resolved practically once again within the framework of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, since the leaders of a number of leading political ministries are members of it and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is at the same time CPSU Central Committee general secretary. However, this does not relieve the problem of legalizing the head of state's effective leadership of the activity of political ministries and departments, along with the corresponding USSR Supreme Soviet committees.

The last CPSU Central Committee plenum rightly spoke of the need to exercise the presidential principle within, of course, the framework of the law and with corresponding control from the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. A Presidential Council must in effect be set up as a normal institution reflecting the new structure of power and the distribution of its functions. But under current conditions it is also formed owing to extraordinary circumstances.

The Presidential Council could include the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Gosbank [State Bank], the ministers of foreign and internal affairs, the defense minster, the KGB chairman, the chairmen of the committees for press, television, and radio broadcasting, a secretary, and possibly certain other ministers.

The council's creation would be an important transitional step toward the strong presidential power without which order in the country and the success of perestroyka are impossible; it is vitally necessary to preserve the state's unity in a true federation with independence for the republics.

It would be advisable to ratify a provisional clause regarding the Presidential Council and amend the USSR Constitution in order for this to be submitted subsequently to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies for ratification. But presidential elections should be held throughout the nation in the future by direct secret ballot.

Questions relating to the mechanism for implementing radical economic reforms will be of particular significance for the work of the Presidential Council since the main business—the redistribution of property and power within the country—which will require tremendous efforts will only begin after the USSR Supreme Soviet has ratified a package of new laws.

Giving the President a number of important business functions—with regard to leadership of state life would at the same time mean relieving him of his jurisdiction as speaker at USSR Supreme Soviet session sittings; IZVESTIYA has already rightly raised this question. He could only preside over highly important joint sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Moreover, in accordance with international practice, sittings of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities should generally be held separately. That would promote more thorough discussion, for instance, of nationalities questions within the Soviet of Nationalities and social questions within the Soviet of the Union.

The Presidential Council's formation must be an important step toward democratization since the council's members will be under the direct, immediate supervision of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. This also presupposes changes to the USSR Constitution.

And lastly: This step is becoming urgent today.

Swedish Author on Trends in USSR, E. Europe

PM0702101890 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 4 Feb 90 p 18

[Report on undated interview with Swedish Professor Anders Aslund by Lennart Utterstrom: "The New Guru of Sovietology: Gorbachev's Four Scenarios"]

[Text] Stockholm—When Secretary of State James Baker delivered his major speech on the Soviet economy last October, it represented a U.S. reorientation. At the same time the speech was also—in content and analysis—an indication that the CIA's ideas were played out, that the traditional interpretation of political events in the Soviet Union was being seen in a new light.

A new era—in analysis at least—had arrived. But behind it there were no U.S. think tanks or new U.S. Soviet specialists.

The speech, like the present new approach in the United States to Moscow, was a display of borrowed plumage. Scenario, strategy, and conclusions were taken from a book which arrived a few months earlier on the shelves of academic bookstores.

Author: 37-year-old Swedish professor Anders Aslund.
Title: Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reforms.
Influence: very great.

In a very short time Anders Aslund has become a world guru on the subject of Eastern Europe. Before that his solid knowledge and his clear—if somewhat unorthodox—analysis were a Swedish affair. For the government, after Aslund's years in Moscow as a diplomat. For Sweden's intellectuals, through his lectures and articles.

Today he is perhaps the Swede most sought after internationally. And also one of the few whose voice means anything in Washington, for example.

But Aslund said, not without some delight:

"People in Moscow also read me. I know that from the Soviet ambassador in Stockholm, Boris Pankin."

For a journalist the young professor is a gold mine. His encylopedic memory throws out data in a never-ending stream. At the same time his generosity is obvious: In an hour more information is imparted than a foreign correspondent in the Soviet Union can gather in five years. This, moreover, complete with rubrics such as "communism is dead," "Gorbachev's decisive two months," and "the Soviet Union could be facing a civil war."

In his epoch-making work on Gorbachev, Aslund's main thesis is that the Soviet leader wants to introduce a Western-style economy with a market economy and democracy. This, despite the fact that as a federation the Soviet Union seems to be falling apart like a house of cards in which one republic after another wants to free itself and form its own nation.

In a speech by Gorbachev even before he was elected party leader, radical changes to the Soviet system were outlined. But the question remains whether the Soviet leader has been radicalized, either of his own free will or as a direct result of the rapid, and apparently equally unpredictable and uncontrollable, developments.

It is impossible to mistake Aslund's admiration for the Soviet leader. Without hesitation Gorbachev is named "currently the most skillful politician in the world."

Why has the professor's influence become so great for so many people in so short a time?

The answer is really quite simple, was the reply. Very few Western Soviet researchers have been willing to tackle the mainstream issues.

"Since so much reading is needed. Few have the time for this heavy and deep research, since the demand for their services as lecturers takes up too much of their time.

"My advantage is also that I have not been doing it for so long. This means that I can view developments with fresh eyes. Much of Western research into the Soviet Union has been guided by U.S. revisionists who have been trying since the sixties chiefly to explain why the Soviet Union is so stable: an irrelevant question!

"My book also appeared at the right time—at a time when there is very little rival literature.

"The fundamental criticism of the Soviet Union appeared as long ago as the twenties and thirties and still holds today. The problems are the same today even though the process of decay has now gone so far that there is little left other than chaos and a state in dissolution."

No one has sat down and tackled the problems since the sixties.

Aslund thinks that there are four possible scenarios for developments in the Soviet Union in the next year. He also thinks that the decisive showdown will come in February or March. Once these developments have gotten under way there will be no going back.

The first possibility is that Gorbachev will maneuver his conservative opponents out of the Politburo—principally Yegor Ligachev and Lev Zorin, who will be quickly replaced by more liberal forces.

"Someone has to leave the Politburo; there is not room for both Gorbachev and Ligachev."

At present the former is biding his time and preparing to hit back once the current conservative offensive is over. Time is beginning to run out and something must happen within a couple of months.

If Gorbachev survives there will be a major radical transformation of economic policy entailing a rapid transition to a market economy, with price reform and private ownership.

The second possibility is that today's status quo will prevail for some time to come, without any showdown between reformers and the conservatives. The result will be that the economic crisis will deepen further.

"Decay will continue in the areas which have not yet reached rock bottom and national income will be further reduced.

"But," Aslund stressed, "people will not, and cannot, accept such a development. This also means that Gorbachev will lose the radicals' support at the same time as there will be complete chaos. In the slightly longer term there could be a military dictatorship like General Jaruzelski's in Poland."

The third scenario is that the conservatives, with Ligachev at their head, take over power in the country. Gorbachev is removed and developments will start to move backward with increased nationalism and chauvinism.

"However, there is much to indicate that time is running out for the conservatives. Developments in the crisis provinces are playing into Gorbachev's hands."

The fourth possibility, finally, is developments like those in Romania.

Aslund thinks that the step from a totalitarian society to a democracy does not need to be so difficult, and pointed to the example of Denmark, which in 1848 moved from one form of government to another in two days.

"And why could that not happen in today's Soviet Union?" asked the man who in the early fall of 1989 predicted the fall of the Czechoslovak regime and GDR leader Egon Krenz's inability to remain at the top of the power structure.

"In a short time we will already know what developments will be. The 4 March elections to the People's Congress will be decisive. The result could be that the conservative party apparatus will be swept away. After that the major reforms will proceed more quickly.

"Developments in Poland—which, together with other East European countries, has overtaken the Soviet Union in all respects—could be a model for the Soviet Union. The example of Poland shows that only a democratic government with broad popular support can adopt unpopular measures. The people factor also means that a conservative regime could not live long."

A victory for Gorbachev means immediate reforms, even a multi-party system. According to Aslund, this was hinted at during Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania, when the party leader and president conceded that there could be two competing communist parties. A typical Gorbachev way of preparing the way for reforms.

What then will the Soviet leader's possible recipe for future success mean for the Nordic area?

For Finland it will mean that its profitable trade to the East will disappear, at the same time as competition surrounding Soviet modernization will become hard and intense.

"But when I receive questions from industry and commerce about investments in the Soviet Union, at the present time my answer is that only those very willing to take risks should go in. At the same time the companies should not be afraid of competition with Japan, for example. A number of Nordic companies have a lot to offer the Soviet Union."

In Swedish Social Democratic circles there is a belief in Sweden as a model for the new Eastern Europe—an idea that Aslund waves aside with an ironic laugh and words about Swedish provincialism.

"It is true that Sweden has emerged as something of a model for the reform communists who can see a socialist model which works. But in the slightly longer term, that is hardly likely to be the road they take. First, Eastern Europe is at a very different stage than Sweden—transferring the model is impossible. Second, it is impossible to escape the impression that countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary will be considerably more liberal than Sweden is."

Through the changes in the Soviet Union, the EC question has changed radically as far as Sweden and Finland are concerned, in Aslund's view.

"Our countries' resistance to membership has largely been linked to the question of neutrality. These arguments can no longer apply to applications for membership.

"In discussions that I have had with Soviet economists the question is not WHETHER Sweden will apply for full membership of the EC, but WHEN.

"Several of the countries of Eastern Europe have mentioned future membership of the organization. At the same time, Gorbachev has talked of the new Europe which stretches from San Francisco to Vladivostok. The European home is being looked at thoroughly."

Slyunkov Chairs Housing Discussion

PM0602132590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 90 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report: "Problem Which Perturbs Everyone; Sitting of CPSU Central Committee Commission for Questions of Socioeconomic Policy"]

[Text] The draft fundamental avenues of the party's housing policy at the present stage were examined by a routine sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for Questions of Socioeconomic Policy held 3 February under the chairmanship of N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The draft was prepared with a consideration for generalizing the proposals from party committees and communists, trade union and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organizations, scientists, and specialists and a study and analysis of public opinion. N.A. Stashenkov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, delivered a report.

The following took part in the discussion: Ye.A. Brakov, general director of the Moscow I.A. Likhachev automobile plant; Ye.A. Yeliseyev, first secretary of the Kabardino-Balkar Oblast CPSU Committee [obkom]; A.M. Korolev, leader of a team of turners at the "Uralmash" production association's Uralsk heavy machine building planted named for S. Ordzhonikidze; V.G. Afonin, first secretary of the Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom; A.A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Minsk Belorussian Communist Party Obkom; V.F. Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice; A.M. Yakovlev, chairman of the central committee of the trade union of construction and construction materials industry workers; V.I. Popov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] minister of housing and municipal services; Ye.G. Rozanov, chairman of the USSR State COmmittee for Construction's State Committee for Architecture; V.P. Denisov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Yu.P. Platonov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Architects Union; A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.Ya. Khodyrev, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee; S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; and V.S. Pavlov, USSR minister of finances.

The speakers noted that real opportunities for resolving the housing problem in the country opened up after the 27th CPSU Congress, which outlined a serious shift toward the economy's social reorientation. In 1986 through 1989 the average annual volume of housing construction increased 16 percent compared with the 11th Five-Year Plan. Over this period over 11 million square meters of housing were constructed over and above the established target.

At the same time the housing problem remains tense. Over 6 million families live in communal apartments and hostels or rent premises from private individuals. The wait for improving housing conditions is not shortening. The situation is complicated by the unsatisfactory state of a substantial proportion of the housing stock and the poor standard of its provision with amenities. Many just complaints have been made against the quality of mass housing construction. The economic and legal mechanisms which determine the content of today's housing policy are coming into increasingly marked contradiction with the logic of the political and economic reforms which are being carried out.

The commission reached the conclusion that substantial changes are essential in housing policy with a view to the gradual transition from the principle of preferential allocation of housing to the principle of its earning, so to speak, by labor collectives and individual citizens. Here guarantees are retained that the state will provide housing for needy groups of the population.

It was stressed that the implementation of this task is possible only on the basis of equitable development of diverse forms of housing ownership. Attention was focused on the resolute intensification of incentives to individual and cooperative construction by expanding benefits and subsidies for families investing their own money in this construction, by ensuring the full satisfaction of individual builders' demand for credits and construction materials, and by encouraging all types of individual and public initiative in construction production through the use of small-contract forms of construction production, the lease, and the economic method.

It was suggested that citizens be given the opportunity to purchase from the state for private ownership the housing they occupy in houses from the state and public stock on preferential conditions and that the question be examined of the free transfer to families, taking their wishes into account, of apartments in low-rise blocks of old construction.

The commission paid special attention to backing up the principle of social justice in resolving the housing problem. Proposals were supported for the introduction of order to apartment rent, for its differentiation depending on the quality and amenities of housing, for the introduction of a system of surcharges for surpluses, for incentives for citizens anxious to get rid of surpluses, for the repeal of unjustified privileges, and for the transfer to families, on indefinite and free [besplatnaya] lease, of apartments in new blocks from the state and public stock.

The sitting pointed out that only general principles of housing policy can be outlined for the country as a whole while the forms of its implementation must be determined locally. The need was stressed to add specific detail to and to supplement republican and local housing programs, paying special attention to determining the stages of their implementation and selecting intermediate guidelines.

During the discussion anxiety was heard about the development of the material base of house construction and construction materials production. Those taking part in the sitting expressed themselves in favor of elaborating a special program for the development of the construction materials industry.

The commission instructed the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department in conjunction with interested ministries and departments and with a consideration for the discussion to finish work on the draft basic avenues of the party's housing policy at the present stage to submit it for examination by the CPSU Central Committee.

The sitting heard information from A.I. Milyukov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, on the results of a trip by a group of specialists from central economic departments to study Japan's system for the state regulation of the economy. It was recommended that L.I. Abalkin use the group's proposals in work to implement the radical economic reform.

The commission discussed and approved the plan for its activity for 1990. It was noted that now that the dynamism of political and economic life has increased sharply in the country, the timely preparation of the party's clear-cut position on urgent questions of socioeconomic development is acquiring very important significance.

In this connection the commission deemed it expedient to discuss at its sittings and to define fundamentally new approaches toward the solution of socioeconomic problems in the field of management of scientific and technical progress, resource saving, ecology and the mechanism for the rational use of nature, reform in trade, and the improvement of the mechanism of foreign economic activity.

The materials of the sitting of the commission on questions of socioeconomic policy will be published in detail in the journal IZVESTIYA KPSS.

Ambartsumov on West's View of Changes

PM0702170090 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 4, 23-29 Jan 90 pp 23-25

[Interview with Yevgeniy Ambartsumov by Pavel Negoitsa; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Yevgeniy Ambartsumov: The West Wishes Us No Evil"]

[Text] We met in Rome shortly after the concluson in Rimini of the International Conference on the Problems of World Development which Soviet politologist Yevgeniy Ambartsumov attended. Naturally, my first question was about his Western colleagues' assessment of the developments in the Soviet Union.

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov. I've got an impression that the West takes perestroyka seriously and links it with creation of guarantess of tranquil world affairs. And I would like to warn against the distorted image of the West and its attitude to our perestroika. There are people in the Soviet Union who believe that the West longs for a speedy disintegration of the U.S.S.R. or a civil war there. This is a profound and dangerous delusion. The West has a stake in ruling out unpredictable situations and, consequently, wants the Soviet Union to be a really prosperous and peaceful power.

New Times. The speech in Rimini made by the Italian Prime Minister, Giulio Andreotti, has been extensively commented on by the Western press....

Y.A. Giulio Andreotti voiced an idea of paramount importance - the idea that cooperation between the West and the East must be based not only on expediency, but also on solidarity. The notion of solidarity is fully in concert with new political thinking. Today we are sort of probing into the possibilities to implement the concept of solidarity in East-West relations.

N.T. Voices can be heard in the Soviet Union advocating "the third option" of political and economic development.

Y.A. Russian history is very special. Hence the conviction that the Russian path must be special too. For instance, democracy is contrasted with the concept of "sobornost" which, as I understand it, implies expression of the concerted opinion of the nation, allegedly characteristic of older times. But let us remember that old Russian councils ("sobors") by no means expressed really popular opinions. Today we must remember the difference between democracy and "sobornost." Democracy in today's interpretation is the brainchild of modern history, while "sobornost" is a feature of the now remote past when the Russian Land was created, and of extraordinary spells of this country's history, as wars, for instance. At the same time, the notion of democracy is interpreted differently in different countries. The Japanese idea of democracy is different from, say, French or Italian ones. Nonetheless nobody in Japan doubts the democratic character of Japanese society.

We used to condemn Western democracy vigorously. But has it improved our interpretation of it? In today's Europe, in particular, Italy, democracy is the result of many centuries of struggle waged by forces which derived strength from different sections of society. This struggle was nearly always accompanied by the desire of the maximal and adequate representation of the people.

In general, I believe democracy needn't necessarily be socially- or class-coloured. Rather, democracy is the fruit of cultural evolution starting with the Greeks.

We have much to learn from Western democracy. For example, were democracy in Italy only formal, communists would not be able to govern a number of provinces and cities or to be considerably represented in the parliament of the republic. Speaking of the priority of shared human values we must bear in mind that democracy is one of them.

In the Soviet Union there are people of culture, priminent writers and scientists who don't have much trust in Western democracy. They believe it is a tool used by the West to destroy the U.S.S.R. But let us not forget that during the stagnation period certain ruling groups tried to hide their desire to place themselves above the people's control under the smoke screen of criticisms of Western democracy. The fact that today Soviet people are increasingly expressing themselves, joining various organizations, associations, and groups attests to the universal value of democracy. Democracy is the mainstream of modern political history. But it would be a mistake, though, to think that democracy can be a panacea. Democracy to which we are all moving today will not automaticaly bring us meat and other goods now in short supply. But, helping to emancipate the initiative of each individual, democracy will activate social forces not only in the political, but also in the economic sphere.

N.T. Democracy is inseparable from pluralism. Catholics, Communists, Socialists, Italian Social Movement—National Right Forum, the Republican and Liberal parties - all these are represented in Italian parliament. The country has three national trade union associations and independent trade unions. This socio-political variety represents different philosophies and economic interests. Italian society, at the same time, is sufficiently united to have its say in world affairs. When abroad, Italians, no matter which party they belong to, proudly stress that they are a part of the Italian nation. Pluralism does not seem to prevent them from being patriots of Italy. We have only one party, but when abroad our people often refuse to recognize their compatriots.

Perhaps we should learn to be pluralistic from the West?

Y.A. I have been watching Italy since the early 1960s. I've been to Italy on a number of occasions, I remember well how strained the relations between Italians belonging to different political parties were in the years of the cold war. They regarded each other as enemies and tried to avoid personal contacts. When the country recuperated economically and started flourishing, tensions were replaced by normal coexistence. Moreover, a national consensus was formed, sort of silent accord on mutual acceptance of the basic principles. Today, for example, communists have friends among Christian Democrats, socialists or even rightwingers. I know a number of instances when political incompatibility did not prevent a communist MP from being on friendly terms with an MP representing a neo-fascist party. As for the Soviet Union, here, regrettably, political struggle often comes to the extremes becoming an end in itself. Sometimes the desire to discredit the opponent overshadows the interests of the stable development of society. Despite the one-party system, the opposing sides seem prepared to destroy each other. It is dangerous to live like this. My interlocutors in Italy often drew my attention to the destructive policies of the so-called radical opposition in the USSR. They told me, for instance, that Soviet radicals were turning their criticism of the Soviet government's actions into an end in itself. I am citing these words, because, I believe, an unbiased opinion is always valuable.

N.T. And still which Western attitudes to Soviet society and perestroyka could we accept?

Y.A. People in the West find it hard to comprehend the daily anxieties of Soviet people for obvious reasons. That is why, understandably, some people in the East perceive perestroyka too enthusiastically underrating its difficulties and contradictions. And still it would be very useful to us to take Western attitudes into account. Initially I was surprised by the negative attitude to the phenomenon of Boris Yeltsin's populism widespread in the progressive circles of Italy. They believe that Soviet intelligentsia acted irresponsibly when it supported Yeltsin, because his populist policies can drive the country into a chaos. Many Western observers believe Yeltsin is unpredictable in his political actions. The people who said this were neither conservatively- nor dogmatically-minded. concerned with the fate of perestroika, they also said the Baltic republics' claims of secession and independent currencies wre exaggerated. I tried to argue with them. Without questioning the necessity of strong power in a country like ours and of extensive powers for the leader of perestroika, I am at the same time convinced that the leader must be supported by powerful democratic activity of the Soviet people. I voted for Yeltsin at the elections last year, because I thought he was a force opposing the apparat. I believe many people thought similarly then.

N.T. So your assessment of radicals in this country differed from that of your Western opponents?

Y.A. Today I am speaking about the Western worries, because I am myself worried by conflict situations which could have been avoided. Western observers and critics chose the success of perestroyka as the ultimate criterion. Anything that may jeopardize it makes them alert. This approach can be understood. Failure of perestroyka could result in dramatic consequences for the Soviet Union and the West alike. Interestingly, even politologists like Brzezinski oppose any kind of extremism. At a meeting with students in Cracow I saw Brzezinski check those who demanded that Soviet troops be pulled out of Poland and that Poland quit her Warsaw Treaty membership. Opposition to extremism is the underlying principle of modern Western development. This concept has no room for the slogan: the worse the better. Only ultra-right forces in the West want to see the Soviet Union deeply in chaos or written off from history.

N.T. There is an opinion that the West renders assistance to the USSR only to push this country on to capitalism?

Y.A. It is for a number of years already that people in this country have been arguing what kind of society we live in. Now they also debate whether we are moving towards socialism or capitalism. People in the West, however, are least of all concerned about how to call societies. Guided by the priority of ideology we are trying to use it when forming our attitude to politics and economy, which, as the practice has shown, is ineffective. In Pisa students told me that the main thing was not to allow Soviet society to be converted to bourgeois one with the progress of perestroyka. I asked them: "Don't you think the main goal is to let Soviet people live better? What do you think features of an anti-bourgeois society are?" They said that anti-bourgeois society had to be democratic, to ensure its citizens freedom of criticism and to provide for the well-being of the people. "That's precisely what we want!" said I. The students were taken aback.

Any path of social development has its drawbacks. One can't programme the future. We've been doing that for too long, with the best of intentions, which never materialized. When he saw where war communism had driven the country, Lenin was heading for a different destination than those at the steering wheel thought it was.

The Soviet press often warns us against restoration of capitalism and private property. But our extensive experience of suppressing even the slightest attempts at private enterpreneurship has led us into an impasse. Perhaps, we better concern ourselves with diversification of forms of ownership? We are suspicious about foreign economic assistance. Most naturally, the Soviet economy does not need direct financial injections from abroad, the more so as the loans we have already received are still to be put to use. But, I am deeply convinced, we need Western experience. Many talented scientists, engineers and inventors were destroyed morally or even physically after they came face to face with the state system which is indifferent to outstanding personalities. Obstacles to initiative are being removed at present but much has been lost already. We must learn from the West the practices of marketing and management, we must borrow advanced technologies. In this respect a great role can be played by joint ventures which Lenin described as the optimal form of translation and borrowing of experience.

N.T. What do you think is imperfect in Soviet society as you look at it from West Europe?

Y.A. The incomparably lower quality of life if contrasted to that enjoyed by people in any Western country and the low level of self-respect and self-expression. One feels bitter and sorry for the people who could overcome social illnesses quite soon and live a more civilized life. It is not necessary to copy foreign experience at all. While borrowing U.S. experience Japan preserved specific features of its history and culture and overstripped the West in some respects for a period of about 30 years. Improvement of household conditions, solution of the supply and demand problems on the market - these I view as the top priority tasks of our society.

There is one more conclusion which I believe to be evident now after my conversations with people from the West: our panic fear of enemies developed to political schizophrenia. It is wrong to think that former enemies became our friends overnight. But they are people who are interested in us and with whom we can and must work together. The time we live in presupposes that differences are an element of normal living.

N.T. This new vision will probably help us all take a bolder look at the events presently unfolding in socialist countries?

Y.A. I can see some people weep over the collapse of socialism and the one-party system. Let's ask ourselves: has the world crumbled? Nothing of the kind. Development is becoming freer and more natural. In the final analysis East European states are dismantling the Stalinist model of socialism once foisted on them by us. We ourselves are now dismantling it, trying to develop an alternative model at the same time.

The attitude to the Soviet Union is changing for the better with the progress of perestroika. Anti-Sovietism which has been accumulating in socialist countries since the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia is being undermined. I believe there is no reason to sound the alarm if Poland or Hungary reject some epithets. Epithets don't matter. One of the Polish leaders said recently that Poland was passing from socialism to capitalism. I can not agree with him. East European countries do not have only the negative legacy of socialist values. As for the Roman Catholic doctrine predominant in Poland, it also contains socialist elements. Once Karl Marx spoke of Christian Socialism. Today, possibly, many people in Poland, and even the Pope, Karol Wojtyla himself, are Christian Socialists. Anyway, socialist ideas can't be killed by new ways of implementing them. It is my conviction that socialist ideas will gain new strength with time.

We are not alone who will have to renounce antiquated views on socialism. Several years ago people in the leading echelons of the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia wondered: who needs perestroika when shops are bare? But it was no coincidence that the demonstrators in those countries chanted Mikhail Gorbachev's name when they demanded greater freedom. Life has shown that people don't live by bread alone. This example confirms that perestroyka and the reforms of socialism connected with it are unavoidable.

N.T. Voices in favour of a common European home have been increasingly heard of late. What do you think the West European idea of this home is?

Y.A. West Europeans want to build it jointly, feeling friendly towards each other. Each people must be guaranteed its own "flat" - not fenced with unpenetrable walls or with secret locks on the door. As for our place in the common European home...Russian culture, despite all its specificity, remains a part of the world, especially European culture. We ourselves must realize this community so as not to confine ourselves to the specifically Russian ways of development. On the other hand, the view of those in the Baltic republics, in Poland and Hungary, who lay emphasis on their countries' exclusiveness seems to me very dangerous. They claim that they are the easternmost parts of Europe while everything that lies to the east of them can't be called Europe. The West warns us against such delusions and not only because in practice they could create an unpredictable threat to the whole world. European culture would be robbed if Russian culture and cultures of other peoples living in the U.S.S.R. were removed from it. Besides, Russian culture links the European and the Oriental traditions. This cultural link is the place where the future bridge between the East and the West is appearing.

Rome Daily Interviews Ambartsumov

PM1202110690 Rome AVANTI! in Italian
4-5 Feb 90 p 10

[Interview with Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, of Moscow's Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, by Libero Lizzadri in Rome; date not given]

[Text] We met with Professor Yevgeniy A. Ambartsumov, of the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute ("we will have to change its name, since the socialist system no longer exists," he said) at Fiumicino [Rome] airport. He is in Italy for a few days for a series of roundtables, talks, and debates.

[Lizzadri] Since you have come straight from Moscow, you can easily guess my first question: How serious are the rumors of Gorbachev's resignation as CPSU general secretary? Who would have wanted to start such a rumor?

[Ambartsumov] On the one hand it would be possible to reply that it has become customary for certain journalists—especially Americans—to regularly circulate rumors of this kind: It is the usual search for the sensational, the scoop. On the other hand, however, it must also be said that there could be more deep-rooted reasons. Since the USSR's domestic situation is rather unstable and rocky, I could formulate the hypothesis that certain groups—especially in our own country—want to give the impression that Gorbachev is no longer firmly in the saddle, that he is about to fall: Ultimately, they are trying to destabilize the situation in the USSR. I cannot say exactly who is behind this operation or whether it was planned. Of course there are groups of conservatives, apparatchiks, and regional and provincial leaders who may want Gorbachev's downfall. Right on the eve of the previous CPSU Central Committee Plenum there was a letter from some 15 Central Committee members criticizing Gorbachev and calling for an extraordinary plenum to be convened. At the same time, it seems that at least half of that group lost their positions of responsibility in the provinces, because there has recently been a tide of protests by the people's masses. In six provincial capitals there have been minor revolutions, as there have in some East European countries. But I agree with you that there was no real reason to speak of Gorbachev's resignation. It really was a fabrication.

[Lizzadri] I believe that if Gorbachev were to succeed in remaining president alone—of course, leaving the CPSU secretaryship to a comrade definitely committed to carrying perestroyka forward—it would be a great victory for him.

[Ambartsumov] At this critical moment Gorbachev and the reformist forces within the CPSU believe that it would be unreasonable to have him lose half his power. In the future—when the situation has stabilized and the party has lost its predominant place within the power structure, its exclusive and monopolistic position—then it will be logical for Gorbachev to leave the party secretaryship.

[Lizzadri] But it already seems to be easier for him to mediate between the various opposing social and national forces as president than as party general secretary.

[Ambartsumov] I would not say that your summary is entirely correct, because the party remains the only structure that sustains the majority of the country's regions, even though it has lost a large part of its influence. I, too, believed at one point that it could have been a good thing to have Gorbachev relinquish his twofold role in order to "galvanize" him, to press him to carry out a more determined, more rapid, and less ambiguous reform.

[Lizzadri] In the Lithuanian question, or the question of the Caucasus, Gorbachev seems to be managing to mediate as president, but not as CPSU general secretary.

[Ambartsumov] Actually he is managing to mediate as a person, as the leader of perestroyka. However, he does not always succeed: For instance, the role of mediator between Azeris and Armenians has now been taken by the Baltic Council. This means that the two sides no longer accept Gorbachev, the central authorities, as mediator, because at critical moments these authorities have failed in their role, have seemed too indecisive; and both sides, though conflicting, do agree that the troops were sent to Baku too late. One Azerbaijani national front leader admitted to me that they should have been sent in two years ago.

[Lizzadri] How, then, do you explain this indecision?

[Ambartsumov] I can understand this indecision on Gorbachev's part, his reluctance to take resolute, strong measures to maintain the balance in the region. He wanted no bloodshed, at all costs. I recall that right here in Rome, at the end of the first day of his visit to Italy, after dining with Andreotti, at his residence he told us with all sincerity and ardor that his conviction and his desire were to avert bloodshed at all costs.

[Lizzadri] In this Caucasus question, apart from the Azerbaijanis' responsibilities, there are also those of the Armenians.

[Ambartsumov] We must be fair, because even if the Armenians were not right to expel the Azeris, it was a response to the genocide committed by the Azeris in Sumgait.

[Lizzadri] What is the present situation in the Caucasus?

[Ambartsumov] After the anti-Armenian pogroms, the time was approaching for pogroms against the other minorities—the Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Kurds—who were forced to emigrate, to escape, because they were being subjected to pressure, threatened, mistreated, and abused. Moscow central television has always tried to keep its broadcasts balanced, to side with neither the Armenians nor the Azeris—in short, to remain equidistant. Recently, however, it has been forced to show that the exodus was prompted by Azeri extremists. The refugees arriving in Moscow are not Azeris but Armenians, Russians, Jews, and others.

[Lizzadri] In this situation it is very unlikely that the CPSU will secure the majority vote in the republican and local elections in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[Ambartsumov] The party in these two republics has lost not only its influence, but also its political and moral authority. The organizations that do have influence are the two fronts, though the Azeri front is very largely Khomeynist, fundamentalist.

[Lizzadri] Is it to be expected that the CPSU will emerge with a minority from the republican supreme soviet elections to be held in the coming months?

[Ambartsumov] The situation is more complex than that, because the front leaders often also include CPSU members, as in the case of Lithuania and elsewhere. As far as Azerbaijan is concerned, moreover, the extremists that called on the people to carry out the pogroms and massacres withdrew and hid as soon as the troops arrived. The Azeri front thus discredited itself. Even during the pogroms there was a dispute, because even among the anti-Armenians many did not approve of extremist acts, massacres. For instance, a member of the Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences told me a few days ago: "What have we done! Now these fundamentalists who mistreat our women for refusing to wear the chador have gained the upper hand." The inhabitants of Baku are grieved because their city's image has been discredited both in the USSR and throughout the world.

[Lizzadri] Will the plenum starting Monday deal with the party program, its new statutes, its position and role within society?

[Ambartsumov] I believe it will deal mainly with the congress platform, in a program document.

[Lizzadri] But will the problems of relations between state and party, between republics, and between nationalities also emerge?

[Ambartsumov] Yes, indeed. But at the moment the important things are not so much written documents as the government's actions to change the situation, to emerge from the political and economic crisis. People have had enough of words, of documents that they no longer even read.

[Lizzadri] Is there also a tendency wanting a strong government?

[Ambartsumov] Opinions are divided. Those of us who believe that we need a strong and determined government are in a minority. Gorbachev is being squeezed between his critics on the right (the conservatives) and those on the left (the radicals) who are disappointed about the nonachievement of perestroyka, the halting of perestroyka, the absence of real economic reform. Now they are demanding his resignation. I consider this dangerous because in effect they are adopting the same stance as the conservatives. I, and those who think as I do, are sure that Gorbachev can still change things.

[Lizzadri] I see that Yeltsin....

[Ambartsumov] Yeltsin has adopted a favorable stance toward Gorbachev in his two latest interviews. Even at the previous plenum only two people spoke out clearly in support of Gorbachev—the radical, Yeltsin, and the moderate radical, Ulyanov.

[Lizzadri] But in his Tokyo interview Yeltsin was very critical of Gorbachev....

[AMbartsumov] Yes, but when he returned, in an interview granted to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and an Estonian Russian language newspaper, he described Gorbachev as the undisputed leader of perestroyka.

[Lizzadri] So he has backtracked from his Tokyo stance.

[Ambartsumov] Yes, in effect he has proffered his hand to Gorbachev.

[Lizzadri] Is his request to become president of the Russian republic not dangerous?

[Ambartsumov] No, I believe that it would act as a stimulus and make the situation more dynamic. I am a candidate in the Russian elections, and I have included in my platform a commitment to have Yeltsin elected president of Russia, even though I do not always agree with him.

[Lizzadri] Is there a danger of a revival of greater Russian nationalism.

[Ambartsumov] Yes, indeed, but I have been very pleased to see during this election campaign that the rallies of the extreme nationalists are less well attended than the others. The voters of Russian nationality resolutely support an open, democratic stance that we could call internationalist, because it admits no chauvinism.

[Lizzadri] What about in the provinces?

[Ambartsumov] This is more difficult for me to answer, but from what I am told, I believe that this tendency prevails there, too.

[Lizzadri] I read about the Marshal Akhromeyev's dispute with the magazine, OGONEK. What do you think of the reform of the Armed Forces?

[Ambartsumov] It is interesting that Akhomeyev's stance is being criticized by members of the military, too—those with the rank of captain, major, and so forth, of course—who are in favor of a radical reform of the Armed Forces, to be based on volunteers.

[Lizzadri] But that would exacerbate an already difficult state budget.

[Ambartsumov] I do not believe the figures cited by the marshal.

[Lizzadri] I do not know, but the issue has been raised here in Italy, too, and it seems that equivalent forces composed of volunteers would represent a greater budgetary burden.

[Ambartsumov] But for us the issue arises of a drastic reduction of Armed Forces personnel, so there would still be savings.

[Lizzadri] Is the conversion of the defense industry encountering major problems?

[Ambartsumov] Of course, we are just starting: The difficulties are obvious; we must rapidly find the means for carrying out this conversion; it is neither easy nor automatic. Even now, however, there is a positive aspect, because there have come to light wastages of state funds to support a military industry on such a scale, whose spending was uncontrolled, moreover.

[Lizzadri] Does the economic program that Ryzhkov presented to the Supreme Soviet to some extent represent a backtracking from the ideas of perestroyka?

[Ambartsumov] In this field, too, there is the same indecision, the same ambiguity, and the same tendency to unduly prolong the process of economic restructuring, in which everything is being set back five to six years instead of taking resolute steps. Will the people wait that long? Our economists cite the following example: Is it better to cut off a dog's tail whole or to cut it off bit by bit? But there are some well-founded concerns: The Polish example shows that radical reform has led to alarming inflation, an impoverishment of the broad masses and the disadvantaged, and large-scale unemployment—which also means a political crisis. Of course Gorbachev is right to say that an immediate transition from a centralized economy to a free market economy would lead to vast unemployment affecting almost all social strata. For that matter, unemployment already exists, especially in Central Asia.

[Lizzadri] Has the fact that many investments in the Central Asian republics have been cut in recent years not exacerbated their economic situation and therefore the protests?

[Ambartsumov] Yes, though some prices—such as that of cotton—have been revised. But the problem is that the peoples are not only harmed by the malfunctioning of the central economic machinery, but also exploited by the local mafias.

[Lizzadri] Then there is the fact that these peoples are hardly represented at the top levels of the party and government, and so forth.

[Ambartsumov] Do you remember the time when they were represented by Rashidov—an Uzbek—and what happened to him? There have been other Rashidovs. Rashidov was a representative not of the people but of the mafia.

[Lizzadri] In any case there is the problem of inadequate central representation.

[Ambartsumov] But this representation does exist in parliament, and for the first time the USSR's parliament has its own importance and influence.

[Lizzadri] What is the status of the ideological debate following Gorbachev's PRAVDA article on the eve of his departure for Italy?

[Ambartsumov] This topic has been frequently returned to following that article—in roundtables and articles in all the newspapers, including PRAVDA. Of course the desire to defend Lenin, to cite Lenin, often prevails. But this is not the point: Lenin is a historical figure, the product of his time; you cannot ask Lenin for something that he cannot give us now.

[Lizzadri] In that article Gorbachev said so, too, albeit more subtly.

[Ambartsumov] Yes, indeed, but the public is now transcending the traditional interpretation of Leninism: That is, the issue cannot be confined to Lenin's time. Obviously we must be more open, more radical. In this respect Yakovlev's stance has much more of a future (his articles have been collected in a book published a few days ago): He stresses the ethical aspect of socialism and, though without citing Bernstein, he does refer to certain concepts, including the preeminent importance of the process rather than the ultimate objective. Many people, many intellectuals, are now no longer so concerned with modernizing Lenin as they are with moving even further ahead in the theoretical formulation of socialism at the present time.

Regional Affairs

Dushanbe Radio Reports on Tajikistan Situation

Appeal To End Violence Made

NC1402085290

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik at 0800 GMT on 14 February broadcasts a one-minute recording of an appeal by (Yuriy Zatsarinniy), deputy chairman of the council of ministers of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. He begins by extending his "sympathy" to everyone and condemns the "disgraceful behavior" by some which can lead to "tragedies." He calls on "young and old" to stop the "bloodshed." He appeals to "the young brothers, the (residents) of my dear city and dear republic," to end the violence and concludes: "I appeal to you, dear compatriots, once again."

Leaders' TV Appeal Broadcast

LD1302195990 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1700 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Dear listeners, today party and government leaders of the republic, Comrades Makhkamov, Pallayev, Khoyuyev, and Latifi appealed on television in connection with events in the city of Dushanbe. Listen to the appeal. Speaking is Rasual Atakhan Latifi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Tajikistan:

[Begin Latifi recording] I appeal to all our people on behalf of the government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. In the tragedy which has taken place in Tajikistan, hooligans, taking advantage of the opportunity, are looting [word indistinct], shops [word indistinct]. The situation is extremely grave. Every (?worker), every peasant must protect the property of the people. For this reason we came to Tajik television as soon as this emergency took place. I hand over to Comrade Makhkamov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee. [end recording]

[Announcer] Dear Comrades, Cormade Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee addresses you:

[Begin Makhkamov recording in Russian] Dear brothers, sisters, fathers, for three days we have been face to face with clashes. It has not been possible to take control of (?the chaos). All young people who are participating in this affair, as a result of drunkenness and sabotage, are setting fire to all shops and residential places in the city. I appeal to all of you, Communists, workers, and all people of the city of Dushanbe and beg them to be ready to help and to protect their enterprises and departments.

An extremely (?unfavorable) situation has evolved in the city of Dushanbe. Our three days of talks with representatives of the so-called...[sentence not finished]. They are basically young people in an intoxicated condition, most of them demanding many things, but they do not want to make contact [words indistinct]. The Central Committee have been holding talks for three days.

In the city today, in all parts of the city, there are fires, pogroms; shops are being set on fire; glass is being broken; people are being beaten. I appeal to you, workers and communists: I ask each one of you to defend his enterprise, his [words indistinct] sector. Do not allow what has been done in 65 years in our capital to be destroyed in [words indistinct] three days. All our goods are being destroyed, everything which has been achieved by the efforts and work of our people. I appeal to you yet again, and request everyone to come to the defense of our capital aginst the activities of these hooligans and plunderers. [end recording]

[Unidentified speaker] I appeal to rayons around Dushanbe and beg them to be prepared, if you were needed we would invite you too to assist and protect the capital of our repubic. We pin our hopes on you, comrade Communists, working class, brothers, sisters, fathers, be prepared to protect your valuables. If this affair continues, we will find neither [word indistinct], nor our food tomorrow. Every place has been plundered.

[Second unidentified speaker] I want to say something. I appeal to teachers, teachers of schools, teachers of higher education, teachers of vocational schools to be among students and prevent them from gong the wrong way.

I hand it over to Comrade Pallayev:

[Pallayev] Dear friends, residents of the city of Dushanbe. As Comrade Makhkamov pointed out, for three days the city of Dushanbe has been (?unstable). For three days all the actions of the Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the government of the republic have not yielded a single result for (?securing calm) in the capital. For this reason, all of us especially came here to appeal to our people and the people of Tajikistan and especially to residents of the city of Dushanbe and beg all of them to unite wholeheartedly to protect our beautiful capital against hooligans, against those people who behave usually, and even after three days, as you understand, are involved in bloodshed in the capital [as heard]. What kind of injustice is this? For this reason, all of us must do something, all Communists, all members of the Komsomol, all young people, all people of the capital must be united to fight against them.

[Unidentified speaker] Dear fellow citizens, I appealed to you the other night through [word indstinct] and said that a tragic event had taken place. [passage indistinct] All our efforts, all leaders of the republic [words indistinct]. Our first appeal was to the people who had started this affair. Therefore, on behalf of the whole government, I appeal to you [words indistinct] against these destructions. Above all, enterprises, organizations, [words indistinct] and generally public property must be protected [passage omitted].

Muslim Appeals to Citizens

LD1302220390 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1000 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] [Passage indistinct] We call on our brothers and sisters once again to be patient and tolerant. Now we draw your attention to a speech given by Haji Akbar Turadzhan-zade, Qadi of the Muslims of Tajikistan:

[Begin Turadzhan-zade recording] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Praise be to God, and God's benedictions and peace be upon the prophet. May God's peace and blessing be upon you.

Dear Muslim brothers, fellow countrymen, people of the same language, brothers, sisters and mothers. Today, [word indistinct] and anxiety is increasing. I say in the real sense that a danger is threatening our nation, the danger of ignorance, the danger of irresponsibility, the danger of giving oneself to emotions resulting from rumors consisting of lies which were (?spread) in the city of Dushanbe over a period of more than 10 to 15 days [words indistinct] after the arrival of a few thousand Armenians, Armenians from Azerbaijan, particularly young people, people who are acquiring knowledge and students of universities, who created (?chaos and anxiety) among the people of Dushanbe.

Dear brothers, fellow countrymen, we should not follow a way as a result of which events of the fraternal Azerbaijan (?might be repeated) in our republic. [indistinct passage] [end recording]

Army Movements Announced

NC1402074690 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 0738 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Unscheduled station announcement; Dushanbe Radio repeats item in Tajik and Russian every 5 minutes]

[Text] Attention, attention. We address all the inhabitants of Dushanbe city:

Military units with vehicles will soon begin moving along the streets of the city. In order to avoid tragedies, everyone must clear the center part of the city's streets.

We appeal to everyone for calm and order.

Situation Remains 'Alarming'

LD1402111190 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1007 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] The situation in the city of Dushanbe remains alarming. A state of emergency continues to operate in the city, and there is a curfew from 2200 to 0600. Yesterday a committee elected by the participants in the continuing rallies [mitinguyushchimi] handed to the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee a program envisaging a number of economic, social and political demands. The Central Committee and the government of the republic are now examining these demands, and it is thought that they will respond to every point on the program of the representatives of the participants in the continuing rallies.

The participants in the continuing rallies are being addressed on radio and TV by veterans of the party and of labor, of the Great Patriotic War, and by internationalist servicemen. They appeal to young people and all participants in the unauthorized rally for calm and dialogue. They explain to them that, under cover of the actions of those taking part in the continuing ralies, irresponsible people inclined to break the law are active in the city, committing arson, pogroms, thefts, and robbery of state and privte property. It is precisely these violatios of the law which were the main reason for introducing the state of emergency in the capital of Tajikistan.

Throughout today there have been speeches on Tajik radio by eminent people of the republic, writers and poets, calling for calm and law and order, for dialogue and understanding of the situation which, unless the parties reach agreement, can lead to (?unjustified) casualties. There were warnings on the danger of walking in the city streets. This danger still remains at present.

Deaths, Injuries Noted

LD1302141490 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Dear listeners, as you have been informed, yesterday in the capital of our republic near the building of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, a great misfortune, or one can say a shameful and tragic incident, took place. A group of thousands of adolescents and young people were involved in disorder and hooliganism. As a result of clashes between hooligans and protectors of public order, many people were wounded on both sides and six people were killed. Also, cars, buses, trolleybuses, and administrative buildings were set on fire by hooligans.

Dear compatriots, esteemed listeners, (?unfortunately,) at this moment too the situation in the city (?is unstable). Disorders will continue in some districts of the capital.

Unauthorized Rallies Continue

LD1402111190 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1007 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] The situation in the city of Dushanbe remains alarming. A state of emergency continues to operate in the city, and there is a curfew from 2200 to 0600. Yesterday a committee elected by the participants in the continuing rallies [mitinguyushchimi] handed to the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee a program envisaging a number of economic, social, and political demands. The Central Committee and the government of the republic are now examining these demands, and it is thought that they will respond to every point on the program of the representatives of the participants in the continuing rallies.

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Pugo Attends Tajik Plenum

LD1402110190 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1007 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] There was a plenum of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party today. The events taking place in the city of Dushanbe were at the center of attention of the participants in the plenum. Taking part in the work of the plenum was Comrade Pugo, chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.

Moscow Radio Updates Events in Tajikistan

MVD on Dushanbe Situation

LD1302141990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] As was announced at a briefing in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs today, during mass disorders in Dushanbe six civilians died and 108 people were injured, including 39 staff of the internal affairs organs who were taken to hospital in serious condition. Thirty criminal cases have been instituted in relation to acts of mass disorders accompanied by pogroms, arson, and robbery.

37 Dead in Dushanbe

LD1302173190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Correspondent (Muzafar Madzhedov) telephone report "On Situation in Dushanbe"]

[Text] In the Mayak Panorama, I said that following the declaration of the curfew, the night of 12 to 13 February was calm in Dushanbe. This information was not quite accurate. Fights were going on only in the center of the capital during the day, and it was more or less quiet. Rioting thugs were on the rampage nearly until morning in the outskirts and microrayons.

Today, in spite of the state of emergency, the situation has become more and more exacerbated. Early in the morning they again began gathering at the building of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee. Then they started to storm it. The republican government has tried to find a common language, but without success. The number of rioting thugs is increasing with every passing hour. They have even been coming in from nearby rayons.

The situation in town is out of control. Skirmishes, fights were and are going on in more than 200 places in town. Pogroms, excesses, robberies are going on. Party and government leaders have addressed the Tajik people on republican television. They called for putting up resistance to the frenzied thugs who have already inflicted enourmous material damage on the city and the republic. According to preliminary estimates, 37 people were killed and 80 wounded since the beginning. Our own forces are not sufficient. The emergency situation does not work. The Tajik people ask for help from the country's government. In the last few minutes, an extraordinary plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee has gathered.

108 People Injured

LD1402033890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] You already know about the exacerbation of the situation in Dushanbe. According to TASS data, 108 people have been injured, including 39 law enforcement staff. Six people have died. A state of emergency has been introduced in the city. Our city newspaper VECHERNAYA MOSKVA gives the following preliminary (?evaluation) of what has happened. "The acts which have been carried out are the result of long and well-organized preparatory work. The time for carrying it out was worked out particularly thoroughly, taking account of the general situation in the country, the electoral campaign and the distraction of resources in Transcaucasia." The reports KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries today supplement TASS and say that yesterday evening at a many-thousand strong rally at the building of the Central Committee of the party in Dushanbe, the Republic's Communist Party Central Committee first secretary delivered a statement on his resignation. A temporary committee was elected from those who had gathered which, in the view of the demonstrators, should carry out the republic's authority. We cannot yet verify that information—as soon as we receive a channel with Dushanbe, it is possible that our correspondent will inform Mayak listeners in more detail of the state of affairs in the capital of Tajikistan.

Situation 'Exacerbated'

LD1402070490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0654 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] We have just received a report from the press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] in Tajikistan. It follows from the report that the situation in Dushanbe is growing more exacerbated. The shortage of bread is making itself felt. City transport is not working. Guerrillas from the rayons are clashing in the city. Self-defense units are being formed among the population. The bodies of law enforcement are taking measures to prevent mass hooligan manifestations and disturbances.

Report on State of Emergency 13 Feb

LD1302114690 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] In the wake of Monday's unrest in the capital of the Soviet Republic of Tajikistan in central Asia, tensions in the city remain high, according to reports from the independent news agency INTERFAX. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic imposed a state of emergency in Dushanbe. On Monday several thousand people gathered in front of the building of Tajikistan's Communist Party Central Committee and tried to break into the building. Having been forced back, they began to raid nearby shops. Several people were killed. By evening the atrocities were quelled. According to reports, the disturbances were triggered by the arrival of Armenian refugees in Dushanbe from Azerbaijan and by the rumors that they would be given new flats. However, the INTERFAX correspondent believes that this was just a pretext. The mob demanded that Tajikistan's party leader come out. They chanted anti-Armenian and anticommunist slogans. The refugees demanded a plane and left for Armenia the same day.

Massive Unrest Described

LD1302163590 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] A state of emergency is now in place in Dushanbe, the capital of the Central Asian republic of Tajikistan, where tensions run high in the wake of mass rioting. Our reporter Yuriy Minayev got on the line with deputy chief of the local branch of TASS News Agency, Vitaliy

Zhukov, and asked him to comment on the current situation in the Tajik capital.

Vitaliy Zhukov described it as complicated. He said crowds were marching towards the city center this morning but they were stopped and dispersed by confronting troops. The rioters later moved to the suburbs and there are reports of renewed volence there. He said there could be casualties although no word has yet come of anyone killed. There are Army patrols and armored vehicles in the streets but no tanks. Sadly, he said, the Army is not in control of the suburbs yet.

Vitaliy Zhukov said he had no guess as to who had provoked the rioting but he believes the local nationalists seeking power were responsible. He said they had vanished from the scene as soon as crowds of hoodlums who were drunk or under the effect of drugs joined the demonstration. In his view the massive unrest was devoid of any political overtones and that the general discontent is over the republic's social and economic hardships, including its high unemployment rate and housing shortage. [sentence as heard]

Although the top clergy's position on the violence was one of condemnation with the high mufti denouncing it in a speech on local television as a road leading nowhere, a number of wandering dervishes seen among the crowd are said to have made inciting calls and fuelled emotions.

Vitaly Zhukov reaffirmed that rumors saying the authorities had provided housing to 2,500 Armenian refugees arriving in Dushanbe had turned out to be false. Official counts put the number of Armenian arrivals at around 40, and the protests do not appear to be thrust singularly against Christians or Armenians because a number of ethnic Tajiks were also among the victims.

First Secretary's Resignation Refused

LD1402121490 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] A correspondent of the independent news agency INTERFAX reports from Dushanbe on the work of the plenary session of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. The session refused to accept the resignation of the first secretary of the Central Committee, Kakhar Makhkamov.

Our correspondent reports that the Army is guarding only its own displacements. The INTERFAX reporter was told at Army headquarters that the divisions stationed in Dushanbe will not interfere in the conflict. None of the officers has any desire to repeat the mistake of General Rodionov who commanded the troops in Tbilisi, Georgia, last spring. The military leave it to the republic's own forces to cope with the situation.

'Deteriorating' Situation in Dushanbe 12 Feb

PM1402094790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 90 p 1

["Own Information" report: "Dushanbe, 13 February"]

[Text] The situation in the city is deteriorating. On 12 February, after an attempt by rally participants to enter the party Central Committee building, the forces of law and order fired warning shots into the air and used the "Cheremukha" crowd-control agent. The attackers set fire to the Central Committee building, and also staged pogroms and robberies on Lenin Boulevard. Administrative buildings and several jewelry stores and savings banks were smashed up. After a second rally outside the Central Committee building and speeches to the gathering by party workers and representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and the clergy, the rally participants were dispersed with the aid of internal forces subunits. One hundred eight people, including 39 staffers of law enforcement organs, suffered bodily injury and six civilians died. The information about the number of victims is being clarified.

Pogroms are under way in the city. There are victims among Russians (here the term "Russian" is looser than in the European part of the country). There are frequent cases of cars being stopped and set alight while the passengers are beaten. The forces of law and order are clearly below the required strength and only some state institutions are being guarded.

Another rally by many thousands of people outside the party Central Committee building ended at around 1700 hours yesterday after prayers. According to our information, the first secretary of the republican Communist Party Central Committee delivered a statement to the rally regarding his resignation. People detained earlier for illegal actions were brought to the rally and released at the demand of the participants. A provisional committee was elected from among the participants and, according to the demonstrators' intention, is supposed to exercise power in the republic. Proposals for the resignation of Tajikistan's leadership and the elimination of KGB and MVD organs, and demands of a Muslim nature were formulated.

There is also trouble in other rayons of the republic.

Video Report on Dushanbe Disturbances

LD1302164190

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 13 February broadcasts a 44-minute video report by F. Madzhidov of the 11 February clashes in Dushanbe.

The video shows: crowds of people in the streets; militiamen in riot gear standing at some distance from the crowd; a few people throwing objects at militia; broken windows; brief views of clashes; a man apparently looting from a shop; a young man and militiaman with blood streaming down their faces; a man being led away and another injured militiaman being helped; night shots of streets with people running; fires burning; armored vehicles shown on the streets in daylight with two bodies lying nearby.

TASS Updates Tajikistan Developments

Rumors Fan Dushanbe Clashes

LD1302121790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1146 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Dushanbe, 13 Feb (TADZHIKTA-TASS)—Six dead and approximately 70 injured; such is the outcome, not yet very precise, of the clashes that occurred in Dushanbe on 12 February. The pretext for the disturbances was rumors alleging that thousands of refugees from Baku were arriving in the city and occupying apartments intended for local residents, with the assistance of the authorities. [passage omitted]

A state of emergency was declared in the city in the evening of 12 February and a curfew was imposed. However, despite the efforts of the local authorities and law enforcement bodies, the situation remains complex. Attempts to break through to the building of the Central Committee and other government establishments are continuing. Public transport is at a virtual standstill.

Further on Dushanbe Crisis

LD1302162290 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe February 13 TASS—Six people were killed and about 70 were wounded in clashes in Dushanbe, the capital of Soviet Tajikistan, on Monday, according to preliminary estimates. The violence was prompted by rumors that thousands of Armenian refugees were arriving in the Tajik capital from Baku and were being allocated flats meant for local residents.

According to the Soviet Interior Ministry, an unsanctioned rally was held in Dushanbe on February 11 in which some 3,000 people took part. The crowd gathered to protest after rumors had spread about the alleged arrival of thousands of Armenian refugees from Baku to whom flats would be allocated in the city.

Officials who addressed the rally assured people that no more than several dozen Armenian families had come to Dushanbe from Baku, who were living with their relatives, and that the information about the giving of flats, intended for Dushanbe residents, to them was nothing but rumor.

In spite of these explanations, at 1145, Moscow time, on Monday some 4,000 Dushanbe residents, mostly young people, gathered in the square outside the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. They demanded the eviction of Armenians from Tajikistan, the resignation of Tajik Communist Party chief and the republican government.

People in the square did not heed warnings from law-enforcement agencies that violations of law and order were impermissible and provoked clashes with militiamen.

At 1230 they tried to break into the Central Committee building. The attackers began to throw stones at its windows and at militiamen.

For the purpose of stopping the violation of law and order, law-enforcement forces fired warning shots into the air, used water cannons, rubber clubs and the cheryomukha gas. Some of the attackers managed to break into the Central Committee building where they committed arson.

At 1600 only some 100 people remained in the square. Others marched along the Lenin Prospekt towards the Presidium of the Tajik Supreme Soviet and the republican Council of Ministers, staging pogroms, arsons and robberies on their way.

At 1945 a crowd of about 3,000 people again gathered outside the Central Committee building after marching along streets of the city. They were addressed by Tajik Communist Party chief, senior executives of the Interior Ministry and clergymen.

By 2000 participants in the rally were driven away from the square and dispersed by Interior Ministry troops.

Thirty people were arrested for the violation of law and order, according to the preliminary information of the Interior Ministry. Criminal proceedings were instituted against those accused of the above mentioned crimes. Law-enforcement agencies are taking measures to establish the indentity and call to account the organizers and instigators of the illegal actions. On the whole, the situation is under control.

INTERFAX Reports Tajik Leaders' Meeting

AU1302202590 Paris AFP in English 1954 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 13 (AFP)—Local communist leaders met urgently in the strife-torn capital of Tajikistan late Tuesday as ethnic violence spun out of control despite the presence of Soviet troops, reports from the central Asian republic said.

Troops sent to enforce a state of emergency in Dushanbe a day earlier failed to bring the situation under control as fresh ethnic strife broke out Tuesday, pitting ethnic Tajiks against Russians and Armenians.

The local party's central committee went into emergency session after demonstrators gathered outside its offices and demanded the resignation of local government and communist party officials, according to a Moscow Radio digest, INTERFAX.

INTERFAX said 20 people had been killed and more than 100 injured since anti-Armenian violence began Monday amid rumours that Armenian refugees were to be given housing privileges.

But now "demonstrators, mainly young people, have set many shops on fire in the centre of town and are grabbing people in the street, mainly Russians, and beating them", the wife of a Soviet television correspondent working in the city said.

"Too few Interior Ministry troops" had been sent to the capital of the republic, which borders on Afghanistan, and both tanks and soldiers were "firing into the air" rather than "using their weapons".

INTERFAX said "Militiamen and special Interior Ministry troops are not managing to control the situation and practically all the shops in the centre of town have been looted".

Initial reports said the city's bus terminal was destroyed during the looting, as well as the ground-floor of Dushanbe Hotel, and the station was half destroyed, INTERFAX added.

Soviet television showed scenes of youths lobbing stones at rocks at [as received] security forces and described the situation Tuesday night as remaining "very tense".

INTERFAX said the "enormous crowd" gathered earlier outside the central committee building also called on authorities to close down an aluminium factory responsible for heavy pollution.

Shortly before the central committee meeting began, First Secretary Karokh Makhanov went on television with the republic's top leaders and appealed for calm, a local resident said from the city.

However his appeal "went unheard", Soviet television said.

Asked if the unrest was organized by any particular group, a resident said, "There is no real movement to speak of, as there is in Baku. There's only a kind of popular front, but a lot less influential" than in the capital of Azerbaijan.

Soviet troops went into the Azerbaijan capital Baku last month to crush a perceived challenge to Soviet power by the Azeri popular front. Moslem Azeris had earlier attacked the Christian Armenian minority in Baku.

Strife reportedly broke out in Dushanbe in reaction to rumours that 5,000 Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan were to be resettled in new housing in the Tadzhikistan capital.

Moscow Radio said more than 140 Armenians were evacuated to Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia, early Monday.

Thirty-nine of the evacuees were refugees, while the others were residents of the city, the radio said.

'Thousands' Riot in Dushanbe 13 Feb

LD1302131790 Hamburg DPA in German 1215 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—One day after the imposition of the state of emergency in the Tajik capital Dushanbe, thousands of people have again rioted in the city center today. As Yuriy Semmel, correspondent of the semi-official news agency NOVOSTI, told DPA in Moscow by telephone, there were demands for the resignation of the central Asian republic's Central Committee and government. According to official figures the bloody unrest of the past few days has cost at least six lives, and 70 people were injured.

A night curfew has been imposed on the city. The militia and Interior Ministry special units are patrolling the streets, some of them in armored cars. Tajik Interior Minister, W. Navzhuvanov, has been appointed the city's military commander. [passage omitted]

Central Press Reviews Events in Transcaucasus

Tension Persists

PM1402090790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent N. Burbyga telephone dispatch: "Baku, 12 February"]

[Text] 12 February, 0140 hours. The city streets are deserted at night. Under the state of emergency, the curfew comes in force at 2000 hours: Additional patrol and guard service units are sent out, and mobile groups are sent out as and when needed. I asked to join one of them.

"The curfew has been reduced by two hours," Major S. Chiribulko, Nasiminskiy Rayon deputy commandant for political matters, told me. "This is because there are fewer violations now, and shooting is heard less often. Outrages have ceased. But there has been no improvement in the psychological situation. It sharply deteriorated among the Russian-speaking population in our rayon in the last few days. This was due to an absurd demand by N. Israfilov, chief of the rayon public education department, that all schools should compile lists of the names of Russian teachers and children. Why was this needed? He explained it by saying that it was supposedly necessary to make calculations along national lines in order to determine class groups for the next academic year. It got people worried. This is how an official's careless (let us use this description) actions can create panic."

[Burbyga] "But how is this perceived by city leaders, what is being done to ease tension?"

[Chiribulko] "Unfortunately, their influence on the population is, as ever, barely apparent; I judge this by the fact that people more often turn to us, the military."

0300 hours. The city ambulance and first aid station.

"There are many calls on us," R. Agayev, senior physician in the emergency department, told me. "As a rule, our patients are sick people, suffering from heart disease or asthma... Wounded? No, they do not come in."

"I have a request," R. Agayev suddenly said. "Addressed not to you but to the commandant's office: All vehicles, including ambulances, are checked during the night. I understand that: Those are the rules. Nonetheless, I would like to ask that we be treated with greater care. It would be good if we were stopped only once, as things are now we are halted several times over a distance of just one km. We are wasting time which is precious for the sick."

Maj. S. Chiribulko made a note in his notebook...

0500 hours. The curfew is almost over.

"We did not stop working for even one hour," E. Dzhafarov, traffic controller at the bread combine, told me. "We bake 110 tonnes every 24 hours. True enough, we are only baking 60 tonnes right now, but this is due to the competition rather than to the proclamation of the state of emergency. Many cooperative enterprises have sprung up."

...The night passed relatively quietly. No crimes were recorded. But the internal tension remains. Azerbaijan People's Front aktiv members distribute leaflets in public places and enterprises, pickets are mounted in shops, signatures are collected for appeals to continue the strike, material assistance is provided to persons of Azeri nationality who continue the strike.

As a result of various rumors, a sizable proportion of the Russian-speaking population in Baku and Sukhumi has succumbed to panic and intends to leave the republic.

The theft of weapons continues. Six air rifles were stolen from Karadagskiy Rayon's No. 228 secondary school. The arrival of Iranians, who earlier had illegally crossed the border, has been noted in Baku. Some 28 percent of the workers are reporting for work, 16 enterprises were functioning, and 18 were partly functional. Some 79 percent of public transport was operational. There are cases of weapons and ammunition being stolen. Junior Sergeant O. Dzhumanov was killed at the "Krasnyy Vostok" post.

Some Enterprises Working

PM1302142790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent Ruslan Ignatyev report: "In Azerbaijan Today"]

[Text] Baku-Moscow—The situation was still tense in Baku and individual cities in the republic 10 February 1990. This is what Lieutenant Colonel A. Drozdov, officer in the task force, said:

"People's Front activity has been sharply activated in the capital and a number of areas of Azerbaijan. Its representatives are trying to retain their influence among some of the population through blackmail, threats, and bribery. Thus, according to Ministry of Internal Affairs data, money—between 20 and 40 rubles—was distributed in Nizaminskiy Rayon at the Kishlinskiy Machine Building Plant to those people who supported the strike. The number of workers at plants and factories has dropped sharply. Only 42 percent of Baku's enterprises were working, another 35 percent were partially operational. In the cities of Nakhichevan, Lenkoran, Dzhulfa, and Sumgait between 20 and 30 percent of enterprises were functioning. Under 45 percent of workers and employees went to work. The strike is continuing in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast...."

Reports indicate that the most complex situation is now taking shape in the sphere of material production. Losses are already running into hundreds of millions of rubles. Ordinary people, workers, and employees expect open, honest talk from the local leadership, but as yet only People's Front activists are seen to be working among the population. A conversation with R. Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, referred to this.

[Ignatyev] How do you assess your work in the current complex situation. How is the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee contributing to the stabilization process?

[Zeynalov] We have a concrete plan of action. It is amended depending on the situation. I would say that the Central Committee's style is now characterized by greater realism. By and large an improvement in the situation has been observed everywhere. Party committees and soviet organs of power in the localities are taking the initiative.

Of course, our people are very sad today: They are grieving for the innocent dead. Many people have been killed by stray bullets. Naturally, emotions are at fever pitch over this. It is hard to work under these conditions. We have met with workers, scientists, and the women's aktiv at plants and in the government and discussed highly varied questions ranging from refugees' concerns to the problems of economic management.

[Ignatyev] Do you think that Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] representatives are forestalling you in work with the population?

[Zeynalov] I would not describe it as forestalling us. Rather as the continuation of their inflammatory activity. We are endeavoring to neutralize that activity. I believe that the people understand that it is necessary to work. They must find the strength to get down to work. What is happening now must not be considered as the beginning of further escalation. Nevertheless we do have to take all this into consideration in our work.

[Ignatyev] Do you think that the tension is abating?

[Zeynalov] It must abate. Healthy forces must have their say.

[Ignatyev] In your view, who is to blame for the introduction of the state of emergency? Who must answer for the tragic events prior to 20 January?

[Zeynalov] Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium and Communist Party Central Committee commissions, along with USSR people's deputies, are now working. An independent investigation is also under way. I think that we will get an answer when they have completed their activity. We are also discussing the disturbances on the border and the pogroms in a number of areas. Our decisions have made appropriate assessments of this. In my view, we must above all find out how it all began and who benefits from what happened.

[Ignatyev] I visited Major General A. Kirilyuk, deputy commandant of Baku City for political work, and saw a whole bag of discarded party cards and candidates' cards in his office. Most of them had been torn to shreds. They had all been found in a building in the city. Certainly, our newspaper also published a photograph from Gyandzha, where party cards were burned on the square, not, admittedly, by city leaders—as was inaccurately stated in the IZVESTIYA caption—but by rank-and-file party members. S. Mamedov, first secretary of Gyandzha city party committee and USSR peoples' deputy, indicated this mistake in his letter to the editorial office. Let me take this opportunity to apologize on behalf of the editorial office. Nevertheless it is still an irrefutable fact that people have left the party. How do you regard it?

[Zeynalov] In the first moment of general trouble many ill-advised acts and emotional actions were committed. Later many people changed their minds. There have been a considerable number of cases of people coming along and taking their party cards back. There have been many examples of people joining the party.

[Ignatyev] How many people have left the party ranks?

[Zeynalov] Approximately 18,000.

[Ignatyev] What is your opinion of APF activity.

[Zeynalov] I don't think that anyone takes a positive view of the actions of the extremist wing of the APF. As for my attitude to the People's Front: Since this movement is under way throughout the country, we have to take off the healthy section and work with it, involve APF representatives in our structure, and act as the APF said it would in its program on registration: for the sake of rather than against perestroyka.

[Ignatyev] Was there a period when you or the soviet bodies were not in control of the situation in the republic?

[Zeynalov] The phrase "loss of authority" was heard at some time. But I wouldn't say that we were not in complete control of the situation in Azerbaijan. There was only a partial loss (perhaps, more) of real authority. This was particularly perceptible in the last day or two before the crisis situation set in.

[Ignatyev] What do you now see as the way out of the prevailing situation?

[Zeynalov] Above all the consolidation of all healthy forces in our society and, of course, the definitive solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh question.

Army Linked to TV Center Sabotage

PM1302152190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 90 p 2

["Version" article by special correspondents Boris Vishnevskiy, Andrey Krayniy, Dmitriy Muratov, and Gennadiy Sapronov: "Baku: What Happened?"]

[Text] Now that we have returned from this assignment to peaceful Moscow, where you can roam the streets after 2300 hours, where traffic lights rather than tanks control the intersections, where there is no gunfire at night, and where there are no cartridge cases on the sidewalks in the morning, we have realized an obvious and peculiar thing: People here have still not grasped what happened there.

We have realized that our considered formulas like "The situation remains tense..." failed to convey the tears of the operating room sister over the death of Lieutenant Sasha Aksenov, born in 1964, who had just obtained an apartment in Ryazan for his little daughter, his wife, and himself, and likewise failed to convey the thousands of carnations around the bloodstains on the streets of Baku. The price of carnations is unchanged here in the Pushkin Square subway station...

Most likely what happened in Baku no longer has ethnic connotations and is not part of the sphere of interethnic relations. The problems of Karabakh have receded into the background. The problems of power and methods of retaining it have come into the foreground. We think it is more important now not so much to understand why this happened as to answer the question: "What actually happened?"

The night of 19-20 January

At 0020 hours (dozens of people mentioned that time to us) troops entering the city from various directions clashed with the pickets blocking the roads. The Army used weapons in response to the armed resistance of the pickets. The combat vehicles drove through the "KrAZ" and "BelAZ" trucks, tankers, and cars barricading the roads. And inside the city itself troops also began to move out of the similarly blockaded Salyanskiy barracks (the military camp). The fighting was fiercest in this rayon. On the morning of 20 January eight bodies in civilian clothes, some of them mangled by vehicles, lay (we saw this ourselves) among the smashed trucks at the intersection outside the camp gate. Several servicemen were also killed or wounded here.

At 0020 hours and later there were still many people on the city streets. There was a rally outside the Central Committee building. A videocassette in our possession shows an electronic clock. The time is 0051 hours. A voice over the public-address system says: "Keep calm, keep calm, don't disperse." It's probably someone from the People's Front issuing the order. Now the square can hear shots and the sound of engines. Just nearby, at the curve from the Sumgait highway, internal troops are fighting. A tank column from the airport has rammed the pickets and is now entering Baku. Later on we will try to assess the military's actions, but we are sure that the blood of innocent, peaceful people is also on the hands of the person who called on people in the square to "keep calm" and of the fanatics who forced people to lie down in front of the armored personnel carriers.

Yes, various imperious impostors had then joined the People's Front, but the Azerbaijan People's Front ought to have neutralized them, it was obliged to do so. After assessing the situation, it ought to have taken people off the streets, out of the firing line. Otherwise what is the price of authority? The sides were wrong about each other's intentions. The military did not think they would run up against civil disobedience reinforced by shots from the rooftops and from behind barricades, and civilians did not think the troops would open fire.

"Use Weapons Only in Extremity"

Yes, there was such an order. But what about the extremity? There is scarcely any precise criterion, especially in conditions of a street battle at night. We think that a great deal here depended on professionalism. The professionalism of those who carried out the order. We are sure that professionalism would have made it possible to avoid much loss of life, but it was lacking. There was courage, endurance, and patience. But...

We know that reservists—people hastily mobilized from the reserve—were some of the first to move out of the Salyanskiy barracks. The political consequences of this decision are a separate issue. But the "combat" consequences are well known....The reservists were not prepared. Not informed. Not trained.

People who had long been civilians were thrown right into the thick of things, their comrades died—according to our information, seven coffins were dispatched to Rostov alone—and they responded by opening what can only be described as disorderly fire...

Later we studied the 190 or so entries in the register of that night's casualties and examined dozens of x-rays. Most of the wounds among the civilian population were not in the legs. They were higher. In the "top third," as doctors say. The reservist servicemen also were wounded (mostly) in the chest, stomach, and shoulders. Many had no flak jackets...

From the account of Aleksey Lysykh of Rostov: "On the morning of 16 January I was brought notice to go urgently to the military commissariat. From the military commissariat we were taken to the assembly point, given uniform, given assault rifles without cartridges, and transferred from the military airfield to here in Baku. All the roads were blocked, and it took us eight hours to reach the Salyanskiy barracks. Along the way we were stopped several times and could very easily have been disarmed—we had neither bullets nor even flak jackets. "We were issued with ammunition at the barracks.

"We were housed in tents at the stadium, and at around midnight on 19 January we were roused by the alert. A sniper appeared at around 0400 hours in the apartment block opposite, ensconced himself behind the flue, and shot at the corridor between the barracks and the medical company to which the wounded were being taken from the north gate. We opened fire against him, my arm was exposed, and I was wounded. That's about all there is to tell.

"I'm married and I have two daughters—one three and one-half years old, and one five months old."

So there is the situation. Without thought for the residents, a fanatic on the rooftop is shooting at the wounded. His fire is returned... We saw the bullet holes in the windows and walls of apartments (some were set on fire by tracer rounds). Only later did professionally trained special forces and assault troops "clear" the attics without endangering unarmed people... We can understand the feelings of the people who opened up with their assault rifles against the concealed sniper (his body was not found, he got away), but we cannot understand why this was the only method of defense. Those are the tragic results of a lack of professionalism. A result achieved at "any price," for the umpteenth time.

Will we never know who fired the bullet that hit 17-year-old Vera Bessantina when, with her mother and her brother, she was lying on the floor of her apartment overlooking the Salyanskiy barracks and merely raised her head for a moment?

Farman Mamedov was returning home by bus with his daughter Larisa. The bus was heading for the garage. A driver of his acquaintance was giving him a ride—they worked in the same motor transport enterprise. They had to stop at the entrance to the Shmidt plant. On the road up ahead there were soldiers and armored personnel carriers. They opened fire on the bus. The 14-year-old Larisa was killed on the spot. Her father, not realizing she was dead, managed to carry her out of the bus but was wounded in the legs and fell unconscious.

Why did these people die? By whose will? Through whose fault? They weren't smashing up Armenian apartments, they weren't picketing... In the morgue we saw a pretty 16-year-old girl. She had gone to look out of the window, like thousands of people in Baku that night. A bullet hit her in the stomach.

It's all understandable: nighttime panic, confusion, fierce resistance from the pickets—but nevertheless... these deaths cannot be justified. Just as it is impossible to justify the deaths of Captain Aleksandr Maleyev, Senior Lieutenant Albert Suvorov, Private Dima Kulakov, Senior Sergeant Sergey Pyatakov, and the other guys who were carrying out their commanders' orders and had been drawn into the crazy maelstrom of the misconceived operation. They too died that night on the streets, and we will never know precisely who killed them either...

So the question arises: Was there any other way? There probably was.

Assault troops officers told us that it was possible to move out through the pickets outside the Salyanskiy barracks far more "quietly." Each person's actions had been worked out, route sketches had been made, and methods of towing away the trucks blocking traffic had been found. Back in Moscow we listened to the tapes of their accounts, they spoke of the reservists with the greatest respect but they realized as professionals that selflessness is never any replacement for skill...

But the problem cannot be reduced only to the use of mobilized forces that night...

Why did the troops not go in sooner, during the Armenian pogroms? Why did the contingent of almost 12,000 internal troops stand idle during that time?

Five days before the tragedy the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau (representatives of the "center" were also present) decided not to introduce a state of emergency in Baku and to increase the number of MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops. The sitting was on 14 January. The slaughter of Armenians was in full swing in the city. The troops were there and were needed—needed at that moment! But they delayed. Who failed to issue orders to them for seven long days?

We cannot take on trust the military leadership's statement that it was impossible to transfer troops. If within 24 hours we cannot transfer divisions to Baku, what guarantee is there that we will not be too late to stop an aggressor? (If one were to appear suddenly?..) There was scarcely a need for reservists drafted, as officially stated, from Rostov, Krasnodar Kray, and Stavropol, although in fact draft notices were also received in Irkutsk and Chita...

What caused the delay? The "Tbilisi syndrome"? But it is hard to compare the two situations—in one case there was a demonstration with the most radical slogans, and in the other the mass killing of defenseless people.

As far back as the night of 12-13 January subunits of the Dzerzhinskiy division were already spending the night at airfields and the troops in the Salyanskiy barracks stood in readiness...

Well, by its absence the Army proved it was needed...

We do not know who "at the top" made the decision on the date for moving in the troops, but whereas this was certainly necessary and justified 13-15 January, by 19 January, when the Armenian pogroms had ceased, this exacerbated the situation in many respects.

When methods of persuasion are replaced by strong-arm methods, the errors of the military begin to be transformed from tactical errors into political errors. The partial mobilization—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA was told this by Krasnodar Kraykom [party kray committee] First Secretary Polozkov—went on behind the back of the local organs of power. The result: Many Russian cities were dragged into the conflict. A wave of rallies swept the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Notices appeared beside traders in the markets (in Voronezh, for instance): "I'm from Georgia."

Survivals of the Future?

In a few days deputies will examine the draft law on states of emergency. They must take into account all the bitter lessons of Baku.

Take into account the lessons... But how many times can we do this? Or does no one any longer remember the findings of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Commission investigating the "Tbilisi events"? We are again reading about "clear gaps in existing legislation and the practice of making highly important state decisions about introducing a special situation, state of emergency, or curfew, about using Soviet Army subunits,.. an increase in the strength of internal forces and their manning chiefly on a professional basis..." We read these lines and now we see beyond them not Tbilisi-89 but Baku-90...

Nevertheless—to return to the balance between the defensive measures employed and the notification of the population about the introduction of a restrictive regime. The model (please pardon the expression) "tried out" in Baku showed what disasters result when people lack information.

Lieutenant General V.S. Dubinyak, the military commandant, first announced the introduction of the state of emergency over the radio only on the morning of 20 January.

Maybe Larisa Mamedova's father would not have taken her on the bus had he known it was dangerous...

The power supply to the television center was blown up—this is well known. But there are certainly other means of notifying people—the civil defense system or public address systems, for instance.

Incidentally, one of us managed to meet with Nadzhaf Nadzhafov, one of the Azerbaijan People's Front leaders. The former editor of the newspaper AZADLYG, which has now been closed, categorically denies that the organization was involved in the explosion at the television center: "An important Azerbaijan People's Front announcement was scheduled for 2000 hours..." But KGB Colonel Mansurov told us in this same connection: "The only thing that is clear is that it was a planned action." But since one story ("extremists blew it up") has been circulated, let another also be heard in order to help the investigation. The witness we found, duty electrician Viktor Romanov, says:

"I began my shift at 1900 hours on 19 January. About 15 minutes later four armed soldiers came into the shop. They began to ask about the power supply system, opened the compartments from which the communication cables run, and asked other questions. Then they said: 'The commandant is summoning you.' They took me and my partner to a basement room and handed us over to the custody of other soldiers—there were lots of them. Then they went back. A few minutes later I heard a muffled explosion. We were not released for another hour or so. And then we were dressed in military uniform ('for your own safety') and escorted to the neighboring Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet building." Later, in the confusion, they forgot about Romanov. He is living "with friends." It was at his friends' place, via several intermediaries, that we found Romanov. We found his story interesting —after all, the TASS statement had mentioned "direct actions (by criminal forces...) to seize the radio and television center." However, it was not seized. Moreover, it was being guarded by a troop subunit. In other words, there must be an investigation, a thorough investigation of everything. Let us add that the group of USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] that visited Baku also has information similar to ours.

In general there is much that remains unclear in these grave and tragic days.

It must be clarified so that we can cease to use abstract concepts—"extremists," "provocateurs," "corrupt elements"—and can know the names. Personally. Who incited people not to leave the square, who gave the "center" distorted information, who blew up the power supply and why, who formulated the plan for the "defense" of Baku, and who worked out the operation to move the troops in.

Is that tragic night in Baku to the advantage of Moscow? Of the president? Judge for yourselves: a foreseeable influx of refugees to Russia, where there is simply nowhere to live, anti-Moscow feeling in Azerbaijan, the dragging of the RSFSR into a local conflict (a slogan in Krasnodar said: "Russia is not a policeman") and thus the extension of its bounds "from Moscow the most remote outlying districts..."

As yet we cannot say who miscalculated the situation, forecast the consequences, and gave recommendations to the president. We cannot say on the basis of (specifically!) whose information "about the possibility of a seizure of power" the Supreme Soviet Presidium decision was made to move in the troops. Both these questions hanging in the air and the polemic at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum between E.A. Shevardnadze and Ye.K. Ligachev about who actually sanctioned the use of troops in Tbilisi show the extent to which the procedure for making such decisions at the top level has not been elaborated.

In general many countries have for this purpose national security councils which monitor the accuracy of information from the most "competent sources," which (unlike the special services) answer for the political repercussions of their decisions, and which act as a kind of agent [posrednik] of the president. A national security council does not have the right to take refuge behind the formula "we did not make the decision, we were only carrying out orders." We think that a law on a national security council should be submitted to the very next session as well as a draft law on states of emergency...

The country's president is under fire from both left and right as a result of the Baku action. The intensive agitation by the Azerbaijan People's Front, which is seeking power but did not prevent the pogroms, the unseemly behavior of the republic's leadership, which first lost control of the situation and lost power, and then aligned itself with the local opposition in assessing the center's activity, and finally the strange lack of professionalism in working out the "operation"—the result of all this is that the majority of the republic's population is now expressing sharp rejection of the policy of perestroyka's leader and, what is more, there has been a mass surrender of Komsomol and party membership cards.

Supporters of an "iron hand" can state with their characteristic sense of deep satisfaction: They got nowhere without the Army, political methods had, all the same, to be replaced by strong-arm methods.

In our view, the echo of Baku can also be heard in the general use as means of intimidation of the specters of the civil war, nonexistent pogroms, and hints in pamphlets of possible "extremism." These rumors are needed to justify the use of force if anything happens.

"Strong-arm methods" and a "state of emergency" play into the hands of everyone who is afraid of free elections and a free expression of citizens' will, which naturally has nothing in common with pogroms...

Armenia-Azerbaijan Rail Traffic Still Blocked

LD1302180390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] In Yerevan the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] is continuing. Issues are being examined in connection with the groundwork for the elections to republican and local soviets.

Incidentally, speaking at the session yesterday, Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, reported that through train traffic would start today on the Nakhichevan section of the Azerbaijan railway. This agreement has been achieved as the result of bilateral talks, but unfortunately, as was reported by the IZVESTIYA special correspondent from Baku, by 120 hours Moscow time [0900 GMT] trains had still not started running.

In Julfa a rally went on till two o'clock in the morning, at which a decision was adopted not to resume traffic. The IZVESTIYA special correspondent contacted the USSR Ministry of Railways. There they confirmed that traffic on the section of railway which links Azerbaijan with Armenia had not been resumed at that time.

Georgia Mediating in Transcaucasus Conflict

LD1302121990 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 13 Feb 90

[From roundup by "Independent Information Agency" INTERFAX]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent reports from Tbilisi that the first meeting of representatives of the nationalist movements of Armenia and Azerbaijan has taken place there, with the National Democratic Party of Georgia acting as mediator. Problems relating to overcoming the ethnic crisis in the two Transcaucasian republics were discussed. It was announced that Armenia and Azerbaijan are doing everything possible in order to prevent Georgia, on whose territory a considerable number of both Armenians and Azerbaijanis live, from being drawn into the interethnic conflict. It is planned to hold a second, similar meeting in Tbilisi in a week.

In connection with the wildly inflated rumors in Georgia about the death of 134 Georgian servicemen during the imposition of martial law in certain regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia, Major General Cherepanov, first deputy head of the Political Directorate of the Transcaucasus Military District, has made an official statement about their falseness. He also informed representatives of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, who came to Tbilisi to elucidate what happened to the servicemen called up into the ranks of the Soviet Army from that republic, that only one Lithuanian soldier was wounded in Baku when the troops were brought in. He is currently undergoing treatment in a Moscow military hospital.

Azerbaijan Popular Front Demonstrates in Moscow

LD1402095590 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Azerbaijan's Popular Front held a demonstration in the center of Moscow this morning in support of the demand for lifting the state of emergency and removing troops from Baku. The demonstrators carried placards with enlarged photographs of those killed and injured in the clashes between troops and Baku residents at the end of last month. They demanded that the people's deputies of the USSR should give their political evaluation to those events. The Azerbaijani Popular Front claims that the central mass media have distorted the real state of affairs in the republic and underestimated the number of casualties during the tragic events. Alongside the demonstration there was another one in Moscow, by Russian refugees from Baku who demanded that the government and lawmakers guarantee them normal life and work and inviolability of their homes in Baku.

Azerbaijan Situation Still Causing 'Concern'

LD1302195290 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Baku February 13 TASS—BY TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Yuriy Soltys:

No ethnic crimes have been registered in Baku over the past 24 hours, but the situation continues to concern many people. TASS was told at the Interior Ministry press centre.

An army patrol fired at a taxi near the Khazar cinema in Baku, killing a passenger. The Military Prosecutor's Office is investigating the incident.

Investigations into pogroms of January 13 to 16 continues. To date, 604 such cases have been recorded.

The situation is further complicated by continuing strikes. The republican Statistics Committee told TASS that only 298 out of 548 enterprises are operating. Production losses since January 18 have topped 450 million roubles.

A group of journalists from 11 countries has been in Baku for three days. Journalists met residents, workers, soldiers, officials of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee, members of the Popular Front leadership and Baku Military Commandant Lieutenant-General Dubinyak.

A TASS correspondent visited the republic's southern districts today. Despite the apparent quiet in the towns of Astara and Lenkoran, the situation remains complicated on the Soviet-Iranian border, where mass unrest occurred in January. There are no longer mass border crossings from both sides, but individuals continue to move back and forth across the border.

As a rule, these are smugglers, who take household appliances, electric bulbs and utensils to Iran and bring back cigarettes, chewing gum and henna.

"No cases of smuggling weapons or narcotics are on record here," Lieutenant-Colonel Konstantin Totskiy told TASS. He said the greatest number of people were detained by his men on January 22—more than 550.

Transgressions are currently not punished, in accordance with the USSR Criminal Code for Violations of the State

Border. As a rule, those detained are released after their identification is established, Totskiy said. Iranians are handed over to their country's authorities.

Deputy Commandant of the Astara Sector Captain Zhamil Khalilov said the number of violations is diminishing. He also noted that no casualties have been reported since January 20.

Colonel Vladimir Ilishev rejected recent allegations, circulating in Azerbaijan, that border guards had opened border crossings on that day to provoke unrest and justify calling in troops and imposing a state of emergency in certain republican districts.

He expressed hope that many problems will be alleviated as soon as an agreement has been reached between the Soviet Union and Iran on simplifying the procedure for crossing the border.

AZERINFORM news agency reported today that the government of Azerbaijan approved a concept for overcoming the crisis in the republic. The programme was presented by 49-year-old Gasan Gasanov, the new prime minister.

Gasanov said "high priority efforts will aim to restore the Azerbaijani Republic's sovereign jurisdiction over the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Region and to stabilise the situation there."

High priority tasks include the speeding-up of housing construction and jobs for more than 200,000 refugees from Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The republican economy is expected to go over to complete profit- and-loss accounting, self-financing and self-government next year. This will permit the republic to save money from sales of oil, cotton, grapes and other products in order to raise the people's standard of living.

Transcaucasian Railway Traffic To Resume

LD1202204590 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Yerevan February 12 TASS—"We are prepared to despatch the first cargo train tomorrow morning from the Yeraskh station to the Nakhichevan stretch of the Azerbaijani railway. The locomotive teams are ready. The interaction with the military has been coordinated," Alexei Kazandjan, deputy chief of the Yerevan administration of the Transcaucasian railway told TASS today.

The possibility of lifting the thirty-day blockade of Armenia and resuming traffic on the Transcaucasian railway resulted from talks involving the leadership of Armenia and Azerbaijan, public organisations, work collectives from the two republics, the USSR Ministry of Railways and the military commandment.

Kazandjan told TASS that the blockade resulted in the accumulation on Armenian territory of 1,500 railway cars loaded with industrial products and raw materials and 1,000 empty railway cars.

"We are able to despatch daily 20 to 25 trains and receive as many as our neighbours can send," he stressed.

Unfortunately, hopes were overshadowed by the report of an accident. According to data from the Yerevan railway administration and the transport militia, an engine driver today failed to stop a four-engine combination before a red traffic-light and collided with a passenger train, Novorossiisk-Yerevan, that was at a standstill there. Some people were killed in the collision. A special commission has gone to investigate the accident.

Baku Radio Carries Reportage of Events

Shooting Incidents Noted

NC1402093690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Notice issued by the military commandant's administration of Baku City on 13 February]

[Text] The military commandant's administration of Baku City announces that the operative situation and laws were not violated throughout the day. Adherence to the state of emergency and to the rules and laws is being controlled by the military servicemen. Two individuals were detained for committing crimes, 12 for violating the state of emergency, 15 for violating passport regulations, and 32 for violating the curfew. Nine firearms were surrendered. We bring to your attention the fact that the surrender of such arms and equipment is essential. Citizens who surrender weapons voluntarily will not be brought to account.

We inform you that military troops opened fire at a number of individuals in [words indistinct]. Citizen Guseynov was critically wounded. A criminal investigation has been launched into the incident. The garrison's military procuracy is investigating the matter. The people will be informed of the outcome of the investigation.

Furthermore, there have been attacks on the military guards. The [word indistinct] of a group of guards was wounded as a result of an attack by hooligans on Karl Marx St. today. A search is under way to apprehend the criminals. Strict adherence to passport regulations, the state of emergency, the curfew, and the demands of the military guards is essential.

We can stabilize the situation in the city, prevent meaningless [word indistinct], and restore normal life only through mutual cooperation.
The military commandant's administration of Baku City.

38 Persons Detained

NC1402092890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0430 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Notice issued by the military commandant's administration of Baku City]

[Text] The military commandant's administration of Baku City announces that there was no change in the operative situation overnight. There were no reports of mass violations of public laws. Measures were implemented by the forces responsible for keeping public order to maintain the state of emergency and the curfew restrictions. Thirty-eight individuals were detained during the past day: 12 for violating the decree on the state of emergency, two for violating passport regulations, and 18 for violating the curfew.

We inform the citizens that the 12 February edition of IZVESTIYA contained an error regarding the hours that the curfew is in effect. As in the past, the curfew is in effect from 0000 to 0500.
The military commandant's administration of Baku City

Refugee Appeals Continue

NC1402100390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] It has been reported from Stepanakert that the members of the republic's organization committee have met with representatives of the military commandant's headquarters and political workers. The materials of the CPSU Central Committee February plenum were examined during the meeting.

Meanwhile, the procurators of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and neighboring rayons met to discuss matters related to their activities and the tasks derived from the USSR Supreme Soviet's decree of 28 November. Ismaylov, procurator of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, addressed the meeting and participated in its discussion.

It has been reported that the procuracy of the NKAO has been brought under the jurisdiction of the republic's procuracy in accordance with the decision adopted by the USSR procurator general.

The establishment of the first ties between neighboring Armenian and Azerbaijani towns has been possible as a result of the work that has been carried out. Agreements on mutual security are being drawn up during the meetings and committees are being established for interethnic talks.

The military units of the Internal Affairs Ministry continue to control the passport regulations and confiscate arms and military equipment. Thirteen individuals were detained during the operations carried out in the Akhilli, Edilli, (Azur), and (Melikhanly) towns. Military equipment, firearms, and provision stores were discovered in (Sirlinchik) and Bulutan towns. Five projectiles, handmade [words indistinct], (250 rounds of ammunition), [words indistinct], eight signal rockets, 15 kg of [word indistinct], 50 capsules, 50 [words indistinct] hand grenades, [words indistinct], and five [word indistinct] rifles were confiscated.

The members of the organization committee continue to receive the people. The number of appeals made in connection with the problems of the refugees from Baku and the NKAO are numerous as ever. The committee is putting measures into effect to enable the people to return to their permanent places of residence without loss of time.

Power Plant Repair Detailed

NC1302121090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] The second power generating block of the Azerbaijan State Rayon Power Plant, which was not operational because of an accident, is now operating. An AZERINFORM correspondent was informed at the Azerbaijan power generating union that the engineers have succeeded in putting three of the four nonoperational power blocks back into normal service during the past few days. They have begun to generate one-third more electricity than before.

Currently, measures are being put into effect in the Azerbaijan State Rayon Power Plant to repair the damaged first block. The Ali-Bayramly State Rayon Power Plant and other power plants are being fully used with a view to avoiding delays in supplying consumers with electricity.

The committee investigating the accident is continuing its work.

Arutunyan Interviewed on Transcaucasus

90US0504A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 23 Jan 90 p 1

[Interview with S.G. Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the republic Emergency Council, by unidentified ARMENPRESS correspondent;place and date not given: "Preserving Calm and Restraint"]

[Text] [Correspondent] Suren Gurgenovich, how do you see today's situation in the republic?

[Arutunyan] The situation in our republic and the region remains very complex. The pogroms, killings, and arson in Baku and the incessant provocations in other parts of Azerbaijan, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and on the Soviet-Iranian border cannot, naturally, leave the inhabitants of our republic indifferent. A mighty wave of mass meetings, at which people have been expressing their anger and indignation at the vandalism which is being perpetrated, has swept through the cities and villages of Armenia.

In my recent speech on Armenian television, I said that on 17 January there was a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee on our initiative between the republic's leadership and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and N.N. Slyunkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The need for this meeting was dictated by the extremely dangerous development of the situation in the region and our concern for the fate of our compatriots.

Expressing the wishes of our people, at the time of this meeting we put to the leadership of the country our assessments of the events that were occurring, an analysis of the reasons for the escalation of tension, and specific proposals for a stabilization of the situation. A solution to the NKAO problem and the question of a political evaluation being made of the instances of vandalism and violence was posed.

It should be said that the country's leadership adopted an understanding attitude toward our demands and proposals. We were assured that the central authorities would implement all the necessary measures to stop the escalation of violence in the region and hold the organizers and perpetrators of the pogroms and acts of vandalism strictly to account.

The meeting was useful and constructive and implanted in all of us confidence that the country's leadership had correctly grasped our concerns, our pain, and our hopes. M.S. Gorbachev emphasized particularly during the meeting that at this critical time great responsibility lay with the party committees and the work force. They must take full control of the situation, relying on the broadest strata of the republic's population, and adopt all necessary measures to prevent an escalation of hostility and intolerance and the incitement of interethnic strife.

For my part, I would like to mention that in the current situation this is not only an objective necessity but also our civic and moral duty. I hope that high consciousness and responsibility at this critical time will make it possible to avoid a new twist of the spiral of escalation of the interethnic conflict and people's sufferings and death.

The situation in our republic remains very tense. The party and soviet authorities together with representatives of the public organizations and the informal associations are trying to prevent emotions spilling over and to instill in people confidence and calm. A republic Emergency Council, whose chairman is the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, has been formed by decision of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers. A great deal of work is being performed by the operations staff of the republic council headed by V.M. Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. A team analyzing and forecasting the social and political situation also operates under the auspices of the council.

All the proposals of the public, the work force, and individual citizens contributing to the republic's way out of the crisis situation are being taken into consideration. We need today more than ever to engage the collective wisdom of our people and their intellectual and moral potential.

I would like to repeat once again that we are obliged to do everything possible to put a stop to the spurring of tension and to stabilize the situation.

We must self-critically and soberly evaluate the entire course of events, ensure due public order, and strengthen discipline in the republic.

Each citizen of our republic is, I believe, imbued with the alarm and concern heard in M.S. Gorbachev's speech on 20 January on Central Television. And each Armenian citizen should do his utmost to assist in the restoration of civil peace and the surmounting of the trials that have befallen us.

[Correspondent] Are the measures which are being adopted sufficient for ensuring the safety of the Armenian population in the Azerbaijan SSR, the NKAO, and Armenia's border areas?

[Arutunyan] This was one of the main problems during the meeting in Moscow.

Following the imposition of the state of emergency in many parts of the Azerbaijan SSR and the NKAO, we have been able to create sufficient guarantees for the safety of the Armenian population of the Shaumyanskiy and Khanlarskiy Rayons of Azerbaijan and, of course, in Artsakh [NKAO]. We are worried particularly by the position of our compatriots in Baku.

In connection with serious exacerbation of the situation in Baku and the attempts of extremist forces, by organizing mass unrest, to remove forcibly from office the legitimately operating state authorities and in the interests of the protection and safety of the citizens ,the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium announced a state of emergency in Baku as of 20 January.

Forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Soviet Army are being concentrated in the border areas of Armenia and Azerbaijan to ensure the safety of the population. At the same time the entire set of measures stipulated by edicts of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium continues to be implemented. It is our duty to render the troops the utmost assistance in the performance of their extraordinarily crucial mission.

[Correspondent] Many people are worried about whether there is a danger of the imposition of a state of emergency in Yerevan.

[Arutunyan] I would like to mention first of all that the events that have stirred up the republic population have given rise to a wave of patriotic feelings. This noble enthusiasm of the republic's working people, of the youth particularly, is profoundly comprehensible and close to me. It has proven yet again that our people are always ready to stand up for their honor and national dignity. But at the same time we cannot fail to be concerned that events, if they get out of control, could assume an unmanageable, dangerous nature. You will agree that we must prevent this for it could lead to undesirable consequences, up to and including the imposition of a state of emergency in the republic. We need now more than ever organization, discipline, order, and a sense of high responsibility on the part of each citizen of the republic.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that in Yerevan and certain other parts of the republic there have been instances of internal affairs establishments and other facilities having been raided for the purpose of seizing weapons. Now, when the troops are taking the situation in the region under their control, we must recognize that the random arming of the population is totally unwarranted and contains the danger of it being employed for criminal, antisocial purposes.

[Correspondent] How are refugee problems being tackled?

[Arutunyan] Yerevan's airports are at this time operating at full capacity. The stream of refugees from Baku already numbers in the thousands. They are being given the necessary medical assistance. The republic Emergency Council and its operations staff, public and informal organizations, and the population are taking all the necessary steps to accommodate our compatriots and provide them with temporary amenities. They are being given warm clothing and basic necessities. The refugees are being given a one-time cash allowance and are being assigned to sanatoria and preventive clinics. There are many refugees in Moscow and other cities of the country.

We paid particular attention to this problem at the meeting in Moscow. The USSR Council of Ministers adopted the corresponding resolution that same day following the meeting. It provides for a set of urgent measures to assist the refugees. Coordination of this entire work has been entrusted to the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies.

You know that the earthquake left more than half a million people without shelter. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have been added to this. An extremely difficult situation has been created, but our people will not leave their brothers and sisters in the lurch.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to express our gratitude to the party and soviet authorities of the Turkmen SSR and all inhabitants of the City of Krasnovodsk, who are fraternally taking in our refugees and doing all within their power to ensure that they reach Yerevan as quickly as possible.

[Correspondent] The republic has once again found itself economically blockaded. How are questions of people's vital needs and the functioning of the economy being tackled under these conditions?

[Arutunyan] The arrival of trains on the Azerbaijan Railroad ceased completely in practice as of 10 January. There has in this time been a shortfall in supplies to us of approximately 450,000 tons of various national economic freight.

A particularly worrying situation has taken shape as regards the receipt of fuel and power resources. All reserves of gasoline, diesel fuel, and fuel oil are today practically exhausted. The operation of the Yerevan Heat and Electric Power Plant and the Razdan State Regional Electric Power Station is in jeopardy. Owing to the shortage of electricity, the normal operation of many enterprises and organizations is being disrupted. Certain difficulties with gas supply have arisen also.

We are doing everything to ensure that there are no interruptions in the provision of the population with food. The railroad through Georgia has once again today become for the republic the principal artery of its life-support system.

In this very difficult situation we are implementing measures not only to tighten the practice of economy and the rational use of available resources but also to engage passenger aviation and motor transport for the delivery of certain commodities and basic necessities.

But this will not solve the problem. The main task is opening the roads and ensuring the normal functioning of rail transportation.

In accordance with the declaration of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the union authorities are taking steps to lift the blockade and reinforce the protection of rail and other communications with the enlistment of the forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops, the Soviet Army, and the USSR KGB.

It is extremely important in the current situation to intensify order and discipline as much as possible at all our enterprises and organizations and in the republic as a whole, organize precise and coordinated work and mobilize all forces and possibilities for escaping from the current crisis situation.

I should add that the question pertaining to an upgrading of the republic's supply lines and a reduction in goods traffic, thanks to the purposeful use of our possibilities, is being worked up also.

I would like to say in conclusion that the whole country is following with pain the events in our region. We are receiving numerous telegrams, letters, and telephone calls in which working people from various cities of the country are asking, demanding that the flames of interethnic war not be allowed to flare up. The Armenian people are in sympathy with the voice of reason, with the voice of the whole country. They have received with understanding the appeal of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, which expresses concern and alarm in connection with the current processes. We must come through these severe trials even more united, without having besmirched the honor and dignity of our people.

Armenian Pan-National Movement Goals Given

90US0505A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
24 Jan 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Ashot Manucharyan, member of the board of the Armenian Pan-National Movement and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, conducted by S. Babadzhanyan of Armenpress: "We Believe in the Wisdom of Our People"]

[Text] The repetition of "Sumgait" in Baku, the deportation of the Armenian population, new gangster raids on Armenian villages of Shaumyanskiy Rayon and the Getashenskiy Subrayon and on the border areas of Armenia—such is the result of the crimes perpetrated in recent days by Azerbaijani pogrom organizers. While demanding the punishment of the murderers with the full severity of the law, the Armenian people are at this difficult time putting their trust in their steadfastness and courage confident that, in any event, they will be able to stand up for themselves.

This was the subject of an interview with Ashot Manucharyan, member of the board of the Armenian Pan-National Movement and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] conducted by an Armenian Press Agency correspondent.

Under conditions of extreme tension caused by the pogroms, he said, the center of gravity today in the activity of the AOD [Armenian Pan-National Movement] has shifted to a most crucial sphere. This is ensuring the safety of our compatriots primarily in Baku and then in Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanskiy Rayons and in Nagorno-Karabakh. As you know, as a result of these brutal actions of the Azerbaijanis there have been numerous human casualties, mainly Armenians, and even more wounded. The beatings and pogroms, insults and robberies, which continue, the lack of protection of the person and national dignity, the new stream of refugees....

It is also known that the job of ensuring the safety of the people has been entrusted chiefly to the union authorities. And inasmuch as they, as we can see, are for the umpteenth time unable or unwilling to meet their obligations, we believe that our people must themselves be in a position to get this job done.

[Babadzhanyan] A state of emergency has now been imposed, and it is to be hoped that this will lead to positive changes in the region.

[Manucharyan] The edict, which has been in effect for several days, does not implant in us such hope for the simple reason that it has extremely negative aspects and represents the latest link in the chain of numerous such fruitless decisions and resolutions. I put this categorically because the edict itself is grounds for this. Take a look; a state of emergency is being imposed in Artsakh where the situation is now quite stable, and in the areas in which the attacks are being perpetrated, whereas it should have been imposed primarily in Baku and other areas of Azerbaijan where a new act of genocide has been organized and where gangsters who should be disarmed immediately are operating. The bombardment of Araratskiy Rayon's Yeraskh community in recent days, which has led to new innocent victims, strengthens us in our belief.

[Babadzhanyan] How should the people be taking up their self-defense and what are the AOD's tasks here?

[Manucharyan] The most natural and objective thing, of course, would be if the state itself could defend the population. However, it is now the second year that we have witnessed the noncreation of such safeguards. Consequently, proceeding from the present difficult conditions, we believe that this should be done by the people themselves. Self-defense squads, which include young people who have completed their military service, sporting groups, and other citizens familiar with weapons, have now been formed at all enterprises and in all establishments of the republic. These squads are united in area groups, whose leadership will be exercised from the center. This is our job—uniting and directing toward a common goal groups which are operating individually, helping them and preventing any amateur activity and ill-conceived operations.

Such squads are now patrolling in the border areas. Such groups have assisted in Artsakh, Shaumyan, and Getashen also. I would like to emphasize that the steps we are taking pursue only one goal—ensuring the life and safety of our nation. And this is the main task of the AOD. It should therefore be recognized once and for all that only necessity has forced us to resort to self-defense, and our squads will continue to be dispatched to the scene in the event of dire necessity. There would be nothing for them to do were we convinced that there were safeguards and that the official authorities and the troops were reliably performing the honorable mission entrusted to them by the Constitution.

[Babadzhanyan] Are you sure that, otherwise, the job can be done on the basis of self-reliance?

[Manucharyan] Undoubtedly. You know, the enemy's strength is exaggerated at times. I use this term with regard for the fact that we are on the threshold of a state of war. Even now some people are spreading rumors among the people to the effect that Azerbaijan has a huge

Army and that it is armed with submachine guns and other weapons. We do not doubt, of course, that they are well prepared: They even have flak vests. But maintaining that their detachments are innumerable and that they are sowing death and horror all around is, of course, wrong. Small efficient groups can beat off any attacks. In Getashen and Shaumyan it was the people who repulsed them.

[Babadzhanyan] Is the AOD relying only on its own forces in the organization of the people's self-defense?

[Manucharyan] On all issues we attach great importance to unity. We maintain close relations with the republic's authorities and cooperate with the operations commission formed recently in Armenia, which, it has to be said, is doing a positive job.

[Babadzhanyan] What do you say to the fact that certain people with their own weapons are violating public order, giving rise to the population's justified anger?

[Manucharyan] Truly, there have been such instances. Firearms have been discovered on individuals not distinguished by commonsense. They should be confiscated from them without fail. We are creating a special patrol service, cooperating with the authorities. An emphatic struggle needs to be declared against the people proclaiming themselves patriots who, taking advantage of the current situation, may use weapons for selfish ends. These are criminals, and we should speak to them only from positions of the force of the law.

In conclusion I would like on behalf of our movement to call on everyone to display a high sense of organization and restraint both at work and in social surroundings and not to succumb to provocation. We believe in the strength of our people and their wisdom.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Viewed

NC1302110190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Report by unidentified correspondent on the resumption of the 11th Session of the 11th Convocation of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The session was opened by Deputy Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, who proposed one minute of silence in memory of the victims of the savage acts in Baku and in the Armenian-inhabited areas in Azerbaijan against innocent Armenians.

Artavart Gevorkyan, chairman of the deputies' committee of the Supreme Soviet, submitted a report.

There were then discussions on the Armenian Constitution [words indistinct] concerning revisions in the election law, on the elections of the people's deputies, and on the limit of their authorities.

After a series of changes and revisions, the majority of the articles that were put to vote were ratified. Dear friends, more detailed reports about these articles will be published in the republican press.

(?After the session's noon break), Suren Arutyunyan, chairman of the republican council on the state of emergency and first chairman of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, briefed the session.

Following this, Suren Avetisyan, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, presented a draft of a decision for study. The draft condemns the fresh wave of genocide in Baku and in the Armenian-inhabited areas in Azerbaijan and calls for a political assessment of this. The draft decision has been accepted by the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

[Suren Avetisyan] The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decision on the killings, violence, and other crimes perpetrated in January 1990 in Baku and in a number of other Armenian-inhabited areas in the Azerbaijan SSR: The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet points out that the tragic events in January 1990 in Baku and in a number of other areas in Azerbaijan SSR seriously exacerbated the situation in the area. [Words indistinct] Armenians were killed, their houses savagely attacked, and violence, [word indistinct] and other acts of vandalism were perpetrated. There have been many cases of violence against Russians and other nationalities as well as against families of soldiers. The absence of a political assessment of the violence in Sumgait, assessing everything as the acts of hooligan and criminal elements, [word indistinct] their political and ideological [word indistinct], and ignoring the organized genocide, objectively helped to exacerbate the violence not only against the Armenian inhabitants of Azerbaijan, but against Russians, Jews, and other nationalities. The (?tension led to conflicts) between the border regions of the two republics.

Despite measures to improve the situation in the region, the situation continues to be grave and tense. The blockade of Armenia and of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] continues. The Gorisskiy-Stepanagert road is closed, and ties between the Armenian-inhabited villages in Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanskiy of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR have been severed. The (?exodus) of refugees from Azerbaijan (?is continuing). The Armenian SSR puts the number of these refugees at about 240,000, and this is further aggravating the already-difficult socioeconomic situation. The crimes perpetrated in Azerbaijan are creating [words indistinct] among the Armenians and among all the other peoples. They are exacerbating the antagonism between the two neighboring countries.

Numerous protests and (?proposals) are being received by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and by the republic's party and soviet bodies from the refugees, workers' collectives, public organizations, and individuals, calling for the condemnation of the Armenian genocide in

Azerbaijan and demanding that the organizers and perpetrators of these crimes be seriously punished.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decides:

1. To condemn the violence against the Armenians in Baku and in the other Azerbaijan SSR rayons and to assess these as the continuation of the genocide of the Armenians;

2. To propose to the USSR Supreme Soviet to (?seriously punish) the organizers and perpetrators of the crimes in January 1990 in Baku and in the other rayons of the Azerbaijan SSR.

[Correspondent] A number of deputies and (?guests) made a series of proposals on how to make the [words indistinct] more concrete. It was decided to elect a deputies' commission of the Supreme Soviet that will consider the proposals on the draft decision and, after making the necessary changes, will present the draft decision to the session for ratification.

The deputies were also briefed on the election timetables of the Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies. It was decided that the Supreme Soviet elections be held on Sunday, 20 May 1990 and that the elections for the local soviets be held on Sunday, 8 July 1990.

A report was submitted on the situation in the region by Deputy Vladimir Movsisyan, chairman of the operational staff of the republic's council on the special situation, who said specifically:

[Vladimir Movsisyan] (?Currently) the most tense region is the Getashen subrayon where we have four Armenian villages: Getashen, Martunashen, Azat, and [name indistinct]. You know that we had many villages in Khanlarskiy Rayon; and after 22 November 1988 and after the evacuation of (Charbakhlu) village, 11 more villages were left [by their residents], as wered the [name indistinct] village in Getashen subrayon. (?Thus) the situation in that region continues to be tense for two reasons. The people in Azat village also thought of leaving and selling their houses. But during the past two years, (?through) Comrade (Karapanyan) of Getashen, we were able to (?convince) that these villages not be left. Today this (?wish) has become true for two reasons. The first is that flights are not being carried out during the past days and the second is that (?there are threats) that the Azerbaijanis will [word indistinct] these houses. We are considering alternative steps, and I do not think it is necessary to comment on these under these conditions when today or tomorrow we can (?have a full report) on the situation. Our objective is that if the Armenians want to sell their houses and leave Azat village, then these houses should be (?bought) by the Getashen Armenians [words indistinct]. (?Such steps are being taken). Our comrades are there now; but with their return tomorrow, I can report then on the outcome (?of their visit).

[Words indistinct] for a few days with the chairman of the Khanlarskiy [word indistinct] committee so that these houses will be [word indistinct]; but on the basis of information until today, there are still no [words indistinct]. It is understandable that there are people who do not want to live under those conditions and want to sell their houses [words indistinct]. But we repeat that both we and the representatives of informal organizations are doing everything we can to [word indistinct] so the said village will not be (?resettled). If this happens, the same will happen in [word indistinct] Getashen and (?other areas). Thus, the situation is extremely tense. I (?do not want to go) into all the details. But I assure you that we have been working for two years already on this, and we have (?achieved something) and (?hope that soon) these problems will be solved.

The other [word indistinct] is the representatives of the army who are in Getashen and in Azat villages and who are [words indistinct] and we have reached an agreement [words indistinct] and people can go there freely. We are working toward that.

As far as other problems are concerned, I would like to say that there were [words indistinct] four flights during the past three days. These flights (?have now) stopped, but we are taking steps to have them reinstated. In parallel, (?there are two other issues). The first is that the transport link from Shaumyanskiy to Getashen has been reestablished, and the (?second) is that in [name indistinct] village where the incidents took place, the troops are [words indistinct] and are able to facilitate the transport of cargo from Shaumyanskiy to Getashen. We have also reached an agreement to use trucks to send foodstuffs to Stepanakert. Defense Minister Yazov has assigned [words indistinct] to facilitate the transfer of cargo that we are to send from Stepanakert to Shaumyanskiy and Getashen. These issues are [words indistinct]. But the situation continues to be tense.

I would also like to report on two other issues [words indistinct]. The first is on the Gorisskiy-Lachin-Stepanakert route and the second is on the situation stemming from this.

The negotiations have already reached such a level that the other side has said that they can allow only [word indistinct] cars and buses. We have spoken about all cars [words indistinct] and trucks so that we can carry (?fuel). The other issue concerning roads—and yesterday I went to Vardenis to inspect the subrayon—is that they have said that there should be a route through Martakert toward Azerbaijan. We have proposed that this route not only [words indistinct] go to Azerbaijan through Martakert but also to come to [name indistinct] through Martakert. Negotiations on these have already reached a certain level. There are no clarifications, but [words indistinct].

I would like to say a few words about the Armenian-inhabited areas in [name indistinct] because the situation there too is tense and is under inspection. We have established a [word indistinct] link between Noyemberyanskiy and these villages. Our [words indistinct] and relations are [words indistinct]. We are striving to make the roads operational between these villages. This is a very grave problem. We have proposed three roads [words indistinct]. The first is Kalininskiy's Privolnyy-[name indistinct] road. The second is the Shamlu-(Govsep)-[name indistinct] road. And the third is the Tumanyan-Riga autoroute. We are already trying to make these three roads operational (?within this year) so that the Armenian-inhabited villages of [name indistinct] rayon can have links with Armenia.

[Correspondent] Deputies Sarkis Muradyan, Karlen Galadyan, and Ashot Manucharyan, as well as USSR People's Deputies Mikhail Suslov and Oleg Lobov, and (Nora Hakopyan), chairman of Armenian Transport, expressed their views on these issues. A deputies' commission was formed on the issue which will take into consideration the proposals that were made and will present a report to the session tomorrow.

Azerbaijan Central Committee Meeting Detailed

NC1302135490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has examined the results of the February 1990 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, briefed the convocation. It was noted that the plenum was a turning point in the party and in the lives of all the Soviet people. The political directions for improving the work of the CPSU in the current responsible stage of reconstruction were established through serious debates that were held in an atmosphere of clashing viewpoints. These directions have been included in the CPSU Central Committee's platform for the 28th CPSU Congress.

It was reconfirmed during the three days of serious work that the party is determined to further the reconstruction course in the future, advance more resolutely through democracy and openness, and depend on the political activity of the masses.

The meeting noted that the realization of the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee plenum requires that the steadfast and pro-reconstruction forces of the republic take up active work and that all the political assertions of the platform be resolutely fulfilled.

The meeting heard an account on the measures by the Azerbaijan Organization Committee to normalize the situation in the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. It was noted that regardless of the difficulties and obstructions, the organization committee is carrying out planned and expedient work aimed at restoring the republic's sovereignty. Nevertheless, the leading officials of the republic's ministries, main administrations, establishments, and organizations were instructed to assist and support the republic's organization committee in every way.

A decision was adopted for the publication of a newspaper by the republic's organization committee, which will be named as KARABAGH. The newspaper will be published in the Azeri language.

The bureau examined the question of preparations by the republic to adopt the system of regional economy and self-financing. With a view to add greater strength and dynamism to this process and to create the mechanism needed to transfer the union and the union-republic authority on all the economic domains to the republic, the bureau recommended that the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers draw up a draft agreement between the Azerbaijan SSR and the SSR governments providing for Azerbaijan SSR's economic independence and sovereignty. A special committee will be established to draw up the draft agreement.

The meeting also examined the question of erecting a monument in Moscow in memory of Nizami, who was a great Azerbaijani poet. It was noted that taking in view of the great importance of the 850th jubilee anniversary of this magnificent cultural figure in the world in 1991, the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee accepted a proposal by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau for the erection of a monument in memory of Nizami in Moscow. The monument will be given as a present to Moscow by our republic's capital. The proposals for the preparation of the draft plans of the monument and for its erection in Moscow will be submitted to be examined by the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee.

The meeting adopted a decision for the registration of the publication of the newspaper of the permanent mission of Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers with the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow. The newspaper will be named as AZERBAIJAN HABERLERI. The bureau approved the proposal made by the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers in connection with the organization of the weekly publication of AZERBAIJAN HABERLERI.

The bureau also discussed other matters related to preparations for the forthcoming plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and to the republic's political and state affairs.

Party Committee First Secretary Replaced

NC1402093090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] The Baku City Party Committee [Gorkom] held a plenum on 13 February to examine organizational questions. The plenum relieved Mamedov of his responsibilities as gorkom first secretary because of his appointment to another post. Agayev, currently the chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions, was elected first secretary of Baku Gorkom and member of the gorkom Bureau by secret ballot.

Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenum. Romanov, who is a section chief in the CPSU Central Committee Party Construction and Cadre Affairs Department, [words indistinct], and Abidinov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work and Cadre Affairs Department, participated in the work of the plenum.

TSSR Supreme Soviet Committee Chairmen Named

LD1202151390 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 2 Feb 90 p 2

[Summary] Today's paper publishes the names and brief biographies of the chairmen of the Turkmen [TSSR] Supreme Soviet Committees. Their photographs are also published. They are as follows:

Orazova Enemdzhan—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and Local Self-Government.

Kerimov Khudaikuli Ovezovich—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Economics Committee

Karayev Redzhepdurdy—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Matters Concerning Relations Between the Nationalities

Aimedova Maya Gozel—Chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Science, Education, Culture, and Training

Tadzhiyeva Aigul Kakadzhanovna—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Social Policy and Veterans' and Invalids' Affairs

Podalinskiy Gennadiy Konstantinovich—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, Law and Order and Citzens' Rights and Appeals

Tanrykuliyev Pirimkuli—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Ecology and Protecting the Health of the People

Snezhko Alia Annadurdyyevna—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Women's Affairs, Protecting the Family, Mothers, and Children Dzhumayev Ereshkul Nurmamedovich—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee

Achilov Nurulla—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Committee

Motayev Sapargeldi—chairman of the TSSR Supreme Soviet Credentials Commission

Turkmen 'Unity' Society Criticized

LD1202102890 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 21 Jan 90 p 3

[Commentary by B. Gafurov: "Whom 'Unity' Separates"]

[Excerpts] It is hard to understand what hostility between different peoples in our republic is perceived by the organizers of the so-called "Agzybirlik" (Yedineniye) society, but its aim is already now clearly visible, and so far this organization is doing nothing but harm. The leaders of "Agzybirlik" (and they include criminal elements and hoodlums) are bending over backwards to affirm that they are the true judges of the history of Turkmenia and heralds of perestroyka. In so doing they do not scorn either demagogy or open lies, not to mention uncivilized behavior and inability to carry on a discussion.

Judge for yourselves. Exploiting a meeting between voters and USSR People's Deputy G. Akmamedov; literary and artistic "figures" and communists A. Amangeldyyev and Kh. Khallyyev, writers A. Velsaparov and Sh. Nurmuradov along with Dr. Kh. Annanepesov literally acted like pirates in taking over the rostrum to put forward their program. After a short time they again behaved in a most uncivilized way in bursting into a hall on the first floor of a building belonging to the board of the TSSR [Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic] republican "Znaniye" society. There they elected themselves to the presidium and started putting forward to the audience (consisting mainly of work colleagues, friends, and relatives) the basic directions of their so-called program.

There is nothing original about it. Their ideas, which contain nothing fresh, are based on everything that has recently been at the center of attention of party, soviet, and economic bodies, as well as of scientists and the mass media in the republic.

Take for example the problems of the functioning of language in the republic which is central to their program. This is indeed a real problem and nobody is disregarding that. On the contrary, intense work to resolve it is in progress: A republican "language" program has been set up and will be put forward for nationwide discussion, a republican scientific and practical conference on the problem is being prepared, and several other measures are being taken. However, not one of the participants in the meeting mentioned these measures. Ecological issues, improving the cultural level of our people, preserving monuments and several other painful problems of our republic, when interpreted by "Yedineniye" members, look more like the empty slogans of the period of stagnation.

The most heated discussion centered on membership fees. The new organization needs money to maintain itself. [passage omitted]

What then are the aims of "Agzybirlik"? According to the society's organizers, without their intervention the culture of the Turkmen people is doomed. But who, then, are these "saviors of our people"? One of them, A. Amangeldyyev, undoubtedly a talented artist, has long been proclaiming that if he is not given a venue in which to hold a constituent conference then those who refuse permission are enemies of the Turkmen people. So there you have it. They have not been around for five minutes and they are already sticking labels on people. Who wants to volunteer to be the enemy of his own people? That is a naive question. That is precisely why the TSSR "Znaniye" society organized courses in the Turkmen language and is spending huge sums on education and propagating a very wide range of knowledge among the population. It is true that things do not always work too well but at least we are trying, although we do not always have the help of talented artists, writers, poets, and cinematographers.

The other organizer and inspiration behind the society is the young writer A. Velsaparov. I have known him since he was a student. After he had completed his third year at Gorkiy Turkmen State University the republic sent Velsaparov to study at Lomonosov Moscow State University where he graduated from the faculty of journalism. Now he thinks that the spread of Russian is causing the Turkmen language to lose its significance and role. In my view Velsaparov dreams of becoming a national hero in the republic. He draws his arguments in the struggle for justice in Turkmenistan from Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee plenums and from Supreme Soviet sessions and meetings of the TSSR People's Control Committee. Just reconstitute all the well known facts and, bingo, another sharp article ready for the press. Here is the most recent example. There are official figures for infant mortality in the republic and measures have been publicized to fight this tragedy. The young publicist's pen interprets this published fact like this: "The government of Turkmenia plans thousands of infanticides every year!" Isn't that just wonderful? [passage ommitted]

Show me just one official in the republic who would hinder the study of the Turkmen language or the writing of dissertations, diploma work, course work, or anonymous work in Turkmen. There are none.

"We want to fight for ecology too!" shouted a journalist at the constituent meeting. "That is a fantastic idea!" I answered. "Why don't you take part in the 'Ecology-89' campaign organized by the TSSR 'Znaniye' society and the TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA editorial office then? Or perhaps you should write a profound article dealing with the problems of establishing and further developing the TSSR State Nature Committee?

He just waved his arm at me, as if to say that without the new society all the efforts of party, soviet, and public organizations are a lost cause.

When one speaker proposed switching over from written Turkmen to Arabic script, I glanced at N. Khalimov, a member of the presidium at the meeting and one of the republic's few Arabists. He kept quiet although he knew full well the difficulty he has in working with the few students there are on Arabic language courses run by the TSSR "Znaniye" society. There just are not enough specialists. He knows full well that this is why hundreds of people wanting to study Arabic could not take our courses. Perhaps the demands of those who want the written form of the language to switch to Arabic script should be met by inviting teachers from Arab countries and spending currency earmarked, let us say, for health care on that instead? One must be realistic. If all the participants in the meeting expended their energy on looking for gifted youngsters and sending them to institutes for oriental studies and oriental languages that would be a lot more use!

All this demagogical talk leaves one feeling irritated. A certain group of people is engaging in noisy jabbering and is agitating people and trying to drive a wedge between different peopels living in our republic—and all to the detriment of the real matter in hand. So have they really failed to learn their lesson from events in the Transcaucasus, the Baltic, and Moldavia? Do they really want to leave large families with no funds to survive and to damage the already weak economy? And for what? There can be only one answer—to satisfy their own ambitions and to land themselves the boss's job.

I understand completely the demand of ordinary participants in this meeting. But, perhaps, they should take another route. Let us seek other forms, but calmly and constructively in a businesslike atmosphere without emotion and false heroism. And another thing. I am sure that when this article is published I will be threatened and insulted and the word will go out to higher organizations. I have long been used to that sort of thing—and that too says a lot about our culture, a culture of discussing things. I wanted to say all of this at the meeting but I was not allowed to do so although there were those who demanded that I should be permitted to speak. The "cultural elite" has a peculiar way of being democratic, doesn't it?
[Signed] B. Gafurov, first deputy chairman of the Board of the TSSR "Znaniye" society

Uzbekistan Starts Penalties for Public Disorder

PM1402094590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by our correspondent M. Alimov: "Incidentally"]

[Text] Tashkent—"With a view to ensuring public safety, strengthening law and order and discipline, and stopping provocative rumors that are causing panic among the population, the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a resolution 'On Stepping Up Liability for Actions Directed Against Public Order and Citizens' Safety.'

"The manufacture or storage with a view to dissemination, and also the dissemination, whether in oral, manuscript, printed, video, or audio form, of material containing calls for pogroms and the forcible eviction of citizens," the resolution says, "and threats to public order or to people's safety or aimed at creating panic among the population... entail a fine of between 200 and 500 rubles or correctional labor for a period of up to two months, with up to 20 percent of earnings being deducted and going to state revenue."

Citizens who disseminate rumors and fabrications for inflammatory purposes will also be liable to large fines and subjected to administrative arrest for up to 15 days.

The resolution, which is published in all the local newspapers, also provides for other measures aimed at preventing violaions of public order.

Kazakh Election Official Bemoans Apathy

90US0479A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with G.N. Korotenko, chairman of Central Electoral Commission on Elections and Recall of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic People's Deputies, by I. Alekseyenko; place, date not given—first paragraph is KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA introduction: "'Honorary Right' Syndrome?"]

[Text] When you realize that five, 10, or maybe more candidates are registered in contention for a single deputy post, the figures are no longer surprising. They show how intense and exacting the process is for nominating candidates to the posts of people's deputy of the Supreme Soviets of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. What are the preliminary results of this crucial political campaign in our republic? This is the subject of our correspondent's discussion with G.N. Korotenko, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission on Elections and Recall of KaSSR [Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputies.

[Korotenko] The overall picture on 15 January looked like this: Three hundred seventy candidates were registered for people's deputy positions in 220 electoral districts. In other words, there were almost two candidates on the average for each deputy post in the republic—1.6, if we wish to be arithmetically accurate. It is distressing arithmetic, and there is a single reason for it—in many election districts just one candidate is nominated to people's deputy; there is no competition. In this regard, there are no violations of the Law on Elections, whose observance is monitored by our commission. The law provides that any number of candidates may be nominated in a district, and so this can comprise a single individual. But, as a communist and chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, I am dissatisfied with such a sluggish course of events. I would like to see a greater degree of political activity from the voters, and this will be the case if several candidates are nominated in each territorial district—it means the voter will be active and acknowledge his political responsibility; he will be pursuing true sovereignty of the people and the democratization of our life.

The course of the election campaign in many oblasts of the republic gives no cause for optimism. In Chimkentskaya Oblast, for example, candidates are being nominated on a competitive basis only in three of 19 electoral districts. In Karagandskaya Oblast, 10 candidates out of 16 have no rival for the deputy position. Not a single one of the six electoral districts in Uralskaya Oblast has competitive candidacy. The situation is similar in Alma-Atinskaya, Kokchetayevskaya, and other oblasts.

[Alekseyenko] I think I would not be mistaken, Gennadiy Nikolayevich, if I were to suggest that in many, if not the majority of noncompetitive districts, it is ranking party and soviet functionaries who have been nominated as deputy candidates?

[Korotenko] The picture here is somewhat mixed. Let me say, for example, that in Kzyl-Ordinskaya Oblast, single nominees to deputy posts include field-crop cultivation team leader T. Iskakov and locomotive depot metal worker A.S. Upolkhodzhayev; in Chimkentskaya—pig tender K.A. Beysenbayev and machine operator T. Agabekov, and so on. But a significant portion of the single candidacies are going to ranking functionaries. I think here there is a reluctance or fear of entering an all-out pre-election campaign, a desire to obtain the deputy seat with minimal expenditure of time and energy—but at the same time we say a great deal in the press and on radio and television, with respect to equality of deputies and the unacceptability of anyone being afforded special conditions. Alas, life indicates the opposite. Retreating from contention for the deputy position brings no prestige to anyone. I would even say it undermines people's confidence in the full extent of perestroyka processes in the republic.

[Alekseyenko] Please name specifically which of the party and soviet functionaries nominated to deputy posts are without rivals. I think it is necessary to do this. Perhaps we can conduct some kind of study in these districts, if only through the press, to try to determine why the voters are not active—is it that they do not see more worthy candidates or are being hindered by someone?

[Korotenko] Today the following obkom [oblast party committee] second secretaries have no competition: T.A. Mansurov (Karagandinskiy Obkom), V.I. Begin (Gurevskiy), T.N. Akhmetov (Kustanayskiy), V.V. Shishatskiy (Chimkentskiy); oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] chairmen—Zh.G. Iskakov (Pavlodarskiy), M.S. Karbayev (Chimkentskiy); first secretaries of raykoms [rayon party committees] and gorkoms [city party committee]—R.T. Chardabayev (Novouzenskiy), R.Zh. Zhunusov (Aktogayskiy), Ye.D. Bayteryakov (Pavlodarskiy), G.I. Mogilevtsev (Ekibastuzskiy), K.Ye.

Yesimkhanov (Yermakovskiy), and many others. There are quite a few high-level economic officials on this list, military people too.

[Alekseyenko] Well, could they themselves demand of the voters the nomination of competitive candidates? After all, the people you have enumerated are considered leaders in society. People have a right to expect that they, before anyone else, will support democratic processes....

[Korotenko] This is all true. But it is more significant, in my opinion, that the voters themselves are relating passively to the nomination of candidates to posts of people's deputy. When all is said and done, we will obtain the kind of supreme organ we deserve....

This is what is most alarming. An inadequate degree of intensity during the course of the electoral campaign has been shown by district electoral commissions and social organizations, but primarily by the voters themselves. There is still time to correct the situation, however—prior to 24 January, when registration of candidates to the posts of people's deputy ends. Not much time, but some. I think that, for the sake of the cause, we should not have noncompetitive elections.

[Alekseyenko] Maybe such a specific formulation of this provision should appear in the Law on Elections?

[Korotenko] I believe we must discuss the law prior to its adoption, and then strictly and rigorously execute it. Having adopted the provision that any number of candidates may be nominated to the post of deputy, we have saved the electorate from any sort of dictatorship of the law. They have the right to decide this themselves. And if they nominate an individual whose equal—in judgment, intellect, and practical experience—they simply do not see, then why should the appearance of contention at an election be artificially created? If—and I stress this point—if this is indeed an individual in his own right, and not a nomenklatura member being pushed through by the apparatus.

[Alekseyenko] Your thinking is logical, but this kind of logic has practical application only when the electorate shows a high level of political self-consciousness. In addition, interference in the exercise of electoral rights does occur. Aren't you getting such signals in the Central Electoral Commission?

[Korotenko] We are, and we are checking them out carefully. Currently not a single one has been confirmed.

[Alekseyenko] Which republic district has nominated the most candidates?

[Korotenko] The Alma-Ata electorate has exhibited the greatest activity. Six competing candidacies have been registered in the 11th Lenin Electoral District. These are V.Z. German, motor pool chief; K.G. Khamidullin, director of the "Energoselproyekt" Institute; S.T. Moldakhmetov, head of the "Kazlegprom" scientific production association; S.K. Nukenov, first secretary of Lenin Raykom; V.V. Khrapunov, second secretary of the Alma-Ata Raykom; and M.A. Aliyev, director of the Kazakh Scientific Research Institute of Clinical and Experimental Surgery. The voters of this district have provided an example worthy of emulation.

[Alekseyenko] Have informal associations shown any activity in the pre-election campaign?

[Korotenko] Yes, they have. It is difficult to say right now where and how many candidates they have nominated, because officially they appear as representatives of this or that labor collective. But there have been many calls to the Central Electoral Commission from informals with specific questions on the nomination procedure. This fact indicates their activity more clearly than any other could.

[Alekseyenko] Activity which other voters in the republic lack. It is difficult to change the psychology of all individuals at once. In times gone by, we became accustomed to a collective, a certain one from among the many, being "entrusted with the honored right" to nominate a candidate for people's deputy. Today it is naive to await such "permission"—every collective has this right. But the inertia of the old is felt, this aged syndrome of "the honored right" is still alive.

[Korotenko] I consider it a matter of principle to stress once again that every labor collective, if it sees a worthy individual, may nominate such an individual as a candidate for people's deputy. I would say it is simply obligated to do so. Finally, the electorate must rouse itself up; the voters must understand that over the course of these days, these recent days in fact, a question of paramount importance is being decided. The destiny of the republic really depends on the composition of our body of deputies.

Appeal for Dissolution of Latvian Party

18080095 Riga LATVIJAS JAUNATNE in Latvian 1 Feb 90 p 1

["Appeal to Members of the Latvian Communist Party"]

[Text] The decline of the authority of the Latvian Communist Party is a natural result of its activities. The leadership of the Latvian Communist Party supported the Stalinist repressions in the USSR in the 1930's, assisted the occupation of Latvia in 1940, and has transformed itself into a collaborationist organization, which by blind subordination to the diktat of the CPSU, has been implementing policies directed against the people of Latvia. It has carried out nationalization and collectivization, supported deportations of people, persecuted any expression of free thought, carried out a system of planned measures directed toward the russification and moral crippling of the Latvian people, and acted against the principles of cultural autonomy for minorities which existed in independent Latvia. In its almost 50 years in power, the narrow oligarchic clique of the Latvian Communist Party has brought our land to a deep crisis. Today, its dogmatic ideology finds itself in an insurmountable conflict with the laws of the society's development.

For many years, the party leaders and its ideologists falsified and glorified the history of the Latvian Communist Party. Its real political goals were concealed from the people and the rank-and-file communists, who only now are learning the truth about the role of this organization in the fate of Latvia. Unlike the Lithuanian Communist Party, which is now already sovereign, the Latvian Communist Party subserviently complied with the imperialist policy of the center and assisted in the economic, cultural, and national degradation of Latvia and the Latvian people.

A large number of the leaders and rank-and-file members who support a renewed Communist Party, which would repudiate many Marxist-Leninist dogmas, realize the crisis of the existing Latvian Communist Party. However, all attempts at the democratization of the party come into conflict with the conservative wing of the Latvian Communist Party. The differences in opinions on several key issues, namely, the attitude towards democratic socialism and democracy in general, independence of the Latvian Communist Party from the CPSU, and Latvian sovereignty, are evidence of the deep, insurmountable contradictions between the two factions. This means that total party renewal and its transformation into a democratic organization are impossible. Its split into several groups is unavoidable. However, there are no guarantees that the new, independent Latvian Communist Party that would appear as a result of reform and a possible split, would be able to unite the progressive communists and the people around itself. A substantial part of the people may even consider this step itself to be an attempt to avoid the responsibility for its past. In addition, many progressive and intelligent people would give their own people the much needed energy and determination to attempt the Sisyphean task of trying to save that which cannot be saved.

Taking into account what is stated above, we have come to the conclusion that under these circumstances there is only one way out from this crisis, and that is to discontinue the activities of the Latvian Communist Party. The different duties that formally belong to it, should be transferred to the Latvian Government in order to put an end to the petty arguments between the two factions about the "legacy" of the Latvian Communist Party illegally accumulated at the expense of the Latvian people. Such a decision, in our opinion, would be the most just punishment for a party, whose actions cannot be forgiven by its people and mankind. This way, society would free itself from a political organization, which, through its subordination to the CPSU, its large administrative apparatus, and through changes in leadership, could at any time be transformed into a force dangerous to democracy, Latvian independence, and unity. The prolongation of this uncertain situation in the party through repeated attempts at reconciling these factions becomes, with every day's delay, more dangerous to our unity and to our confidence on the road to freedom for Latvia and its people. The events in Eastern Europe show that nothing can save the authority of a communist party in the eyes of the people. In addition, we must take into account that the existence of primary CPSU organizations in Latvian institutions, enterprises, farms, and militia, based on the production principle rather than on the territorial principle, is today in contradiction to the republic Constitution which was changed at the last session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, and which specifies the equality of all parties and public organizations before the state. Therefore, we call on all the Latvian Communist Party primary organizations to discuss the proposal for self-disbandment and to adopt resolutions on discontinuing its activities. We call on all Latvian Communist Party members, who believe in democracy and the idea of a free Latvia, to make a decision as to the usefulness of their personal membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and on their future role in the democratization of a Latvian multi-party and non-party society!

We are certain that this choice does not contradict the initiative of the LU [not further identified] communists to form a new, democratic party based on the existing Latvian Communist Party.
[Signed] *Dainis Ivans, Juris Celmins, Aivars Znatnajs, Vita Petersone, Peteris Lakis, Armands Pauris, Omars Jansons, and Vilis Seleckis*

Contraband Cargo Seized at Riga Port

LD1002225790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 9 February in its "Vremya" newscast broadcasts a report by Kira Grigoryevna and N. Kasyanova on the seizure of contraband cargo at Riga Port.

Kira Grigoryevna comments on the "unpleasant report" which undermines trust in the cooperatives which are establishing themselves and which gives rise to the natural question: Well, why is it that recently we have been hearing so often how the orb [as heard] is being sold for hard currency? In the Riga mercantile port, customs detained a major contraband cargo.

N. Kasyanova compares this smuggling case with the smuggling of Soviet planes and submarines, because 14 containers containing strategically-important titanium, in short supply in the Soviet Union, and 17 waggons of 520 tonnes of aluminium, also of strategic value, were seized.

N. Kasyanova continues: Privy to the titanium haulage are the Riga cooperative (?Injeniris) and the Moscow cooperative Katograf. As far as the aluminium is concerned, a certain Novosibirsk youth organization attempted to avail itself of the mediation of the Riga Rigaselmash works by fraud and tried to present the aluminium as building materials not requiring a license for export. The state security bodies are carrying out an investigation.

The video shows rolls, ingots, and rods at a port; containers are opened to reveal metal bars; close-ups of factory marks, smelting stamps, and technical inspection stamps.

Estonian Territorial Integrity Declaration

WA1302204290 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Feb 90 p 1

[Statement issued by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in Tallinn on 31 January: "Declaration on the Territorial Integrity of the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] The political atmosphere in Estonia recently has been sharply inflamed by the calls for the creation on the territory of Estonia of an independent state formation expressed in the press and at various meetings and also by certain USSR people's deputies. Concern in connection with such a possible development of events has been expressed in the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet also.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium can make an entirely unequivocal assessment of such intentions: Violation of the integrity of the Estonian SSR is impermissible, Estonia is united and indivisible. In accordance with international law, only the people who have lived there primordially have the right to decide the fate of Estonia, as of any other historically and ethnically evolved territory.

The endeavor against the wishes of the Estonian people, proceeding solely from the political interests of a small group of people and in violation of the integrity of Estonia, to detach from it certain regions is essentially an attempt to colonize part of Estonian territory and perpetuate the annexation. Such an action can have neither legal grounds nor moral justification.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium believes that it is a question of premeditated provocation, whose purpose is to unsettle interethnic relations in Estonia, which could bring the situation therein to an uncontrollable state and provide a pretext for its solution from a position of strength, employing methods which have already been approved in places. It is also a question of the deliberate confusion of part of the Russian-speaking population, for a precondition of Estonia's economic independence, security and material sufficiency, and the prosperity of its inhabitants can only be its territorial integrity. In this situation the Supreme Soviet Presidium considers impermissible statements increasing tension in interethnic relations in our republic.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium declares that the guarantee of the free development, mutual understanding, mutual tolerance, and mutual respect of the inhabitants of Estonia of any nationality can only be a careful consideration and combination of the different interests and requirements at the state level and at the level of self-management, which ensues from the principles recorded in the Estonian SSR Law "National Rights of Citizens of the Estonian SSR".

[signed] Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Tallinn, 31 January 1990

Live Relay of Lithuanian Supreme Soviet 13 Feb

LD1302141190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0800 GMT on 13 February begins carrying a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session in Vilnius. The radio announcer introduces the relay by saying that the session will not complete its work on 13 February and will continue at least into 14 February, possibly longer.

At 0801 GMT, Chairman Lionginas Sepetys opens the session; 245 deputies are present.

At 0802 GMT, the director of the Lithuanian Bank, Zilevicius, begins his report on the draft bank law. According to which, the bank is the property of the Lithuanian state. The law also makes provision for the bank's relations with the Supreme Soviet. The bank will have the right to represent the state in international financial affairs.

At 0810 GMT, the entire draft law is put to a vote. It passes by 229 votes with two abstentions.

At 0817 GMT, terminology questions are raised: whether to use "restore the bank" or "establish the bank." By a majority of votes it is decided to use the term "the establishment of the Lithuanian Bank."

At 0825 GMT, Deputy Stasys Staciokas proposes that the republic's deputy procurators be appointed by the Supreme Soviet. The chairman then puts to vote an amendment to the 18th Section of the Constitution, not further specified, which is adopted unanimously.

At 0842 GMT, a report on the draft law on the legal system and the status of the judges is submitted. This draft has been published in the press and is well known to the deputies. The chairman of the editorial commission then briefly describes amendments and corrections to individual articles in the draft law.

At 0849 GMT, brief discussions on individual paragraphs are conducted. At 0914 GMT, the draft law on the legal system and the status of the judges is put to vote. It is pased by 248 votes with two abstentions.

At 0918 GMT, Deputy Misiukonis submits a report on amendments to the draft militia law. It is decided to publish this draft law in the press.

At 0922 GMT, the session adjourns for 20 minutes.

At 0945 GMT, the session resumes work with the chairman of the election commission, Academician

Bulavas, stressing the importance of the coming elections and describes in detail the formation of constituencies and local election commissions.

He says: "Some dissatisfaction in some military units has arisen about certain limitations regarding servicemen, and there have been many inquiries from Vilnius, Jonava, and other places. We have explained that those who have arrived—especially officers and members of their families—and who have been residing on the republic's territory for some time and intend to reside for a longer period of time, for one year or longer, can take part in the elections." "Thus, this anxiety in many military units has been, in our opinion, eliminated."

Bulavas continues that in the view of the Lithuanian Communist Party and other organizations, "the December-January political events in Lithuania had a negative influence on the nomination of candidates for the elections. This was used against Lithuanian [word indistinct] by anti-Lithuanian people of other nationalities. There have even been instances of dismissing Lithuanians from their jobs.

"Here are some figures about the nomination of the candidates: In all, 650 candidates were nominated, and only 141 candidates are to be elected. Therefore, the average for the election of one candidate is roughly 4.6 persons. In some constituencies seven to eight, and even 11 to 12 candidates were nominated."

"Because of various shortcomings, about 100 candidates were not registered. Finally, 522 candidates were registered. There have been instances where candidates registered in more than one constituency." "Eighty-five percent of the registered candidates are age 31 to 60. Young people constitute some six percent. People over 60 constitute about eight percent. As far as education is concerned, there is a great difference compared with the present Supreme Soviet." "The registered candidates with higher education constitute 92 percent. Only one candidate has solely elementary education. More than 100 candidates have science degrees and science titles. According to professions, the largest number are engineers. They constitute more than a quarter of the nominated candidates. They are followed by lawyers, economists, teachers, and journalists." "Among the candidates employed in industry are also workers and foremen, some 20 of them. As far as kolkhozes and sovkhozes are concerned, there are agronomists, zoo-technicians, and foremen, but no ordinary kolkhozniks."

Bulavas says that there have been many remarks and complaints about the work of the commission. Shortcomings in its work can be explained by contradictions and complications in the election law.

At 1021 GMT, Bulavas replies to deputies' questions onthe registration of candidates for local elections and others.

At 1033 GMT, Deputy Petras Ignotas presents the draft law on archives. Debates on the law on archives of the republic continue. Petras Ignotas answers questions from deputies.

At 1045 GMT, a vote is taken on the law including all proposals and remarks, with 248 deputies voting in favor. Thus, the law on archives is passed unanimously.

The next item on the agenda is the date the law on archives is to come into force. There are two proposals: 1 September, which is supported by 175 deputies; and immediately, which is supported by a minority of the deputies.

At 1057 GMT, the issue of military service for young people in the Soviet Armed Forces is discussed.

Valerijonas Sadreika, chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet for commission on military service by Lithuanian youth, addresses the session:

"Esteemed deputies: Less than half a year ago, in September of last year, you discussed the issue of military service by the citizens of this republic. Since that time, the conditions of young men from this republic who are doing their military service not only did not get better it has been getting worse day by day.

"Although the foundations of democracy are being consolidated in society and more attention is being paid to the protection of human rights, the nonstatue relations and internationality disagreements, as they are mildly referred to, continue to spread in the Soviet Armed Forces.

"As a result of insults to human dignity, of physical and psychological violence, soldiers are leaving military units without permission and a considerable number of young men have even perished. During last year alone, 22 young men from Lithuania perished in the Army.

"To avoid any threat to their dignity, health, and very lives, some young men have refused to do military service. The cases of 45 young men who refused to do their military service during the enrollment to the Soviet Armed Forces last year have been handed over to the procurator's office of the republic with a view to starting criminal proceedings against them.

"The openness which has already reached our lives has not yet reached the Army. Of late two opinions have been formed: First is the opinion of society which has voiced the new tragedies of soldiers. The second opinion is that of the Army which attempts to make the incidents local and try to prove that all these are only isolated cases. They claim that all problems arise from civil life."

"Having studied the results of a psycholgical research carried out by the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law, during which 2,000 students and ex-soldiers answered the questionaire we have a real picture of what the situation in the Soviet Army is like. The sociological research was carried out in the autumn of last year."

"As many as 89 percent of those polled testified that regardless of their nationality the citizens of Lithuania were labelled as fascists," while "93 percent testified that foul language is used by sergeants to address rank-and-file soldiers; 89 percent of those polled said they saw intoxicated soldiers on the territory of the military units; 90 percent said they saw drunk sergeants and junior officers; more senior officers were seen drunk by 68 percent; and 27 percent of those polled saw the most senior officers drunk." Furthermore, "96 percent of those polled testified that gasoline, food products, clothes, and other property is plundered."

Sadreika continues: "Every fourth person polled confirmed that the Armed Forces is a school for cruelty and dehumanization. Every fifth person said that the Army fostered hypocrisy and careerism. Every second person said that it suppressed an intelligent personality both physically and spiritually."

"Not a single point of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet decision concerning military service by the citizens of the republic has been implemented in practical terms to this day. This has not been done because of the unwillingness of the USSR Defense Ministry to understand the matter."

"During the meeting with General Yazov on 30 October last year, esteemed Sakalauskas, chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers, gave him a list of 47 young men who were subjected to violence and which was compiled by the commission on military service by the youth of this republic. On more than one occasion this commission has appealed to the Defense Ministry, to the leadership of military districts on behalf of these soldiers. At that time the minister gave his firm promise that these matters will be looked into immediately and measures taken. However, we have received no answer to this day."

"As a result of this abnormal situation in the Army the proposal to boycott the spring enrollment to the Army is being widely voiced. A considerable number of people in this republic began to support this proposal after the first killings in Azerbaijan."

Sadreika concludes his report at 1115 GMT, after which time he answers questions. It is proposed that all submissions be handed to the Supreme Soviet Presidium with the request that it makes its assessment and subsequently inform the Supreme Soviet. A majority of deputies votes in favor of this proposal.

At 1132 GMT, an adjournment is called until 1300 GMT.

At 1306 GMT, the session resumes its work with discussion on the issue of service in the Soviet Army.

At 1308 GMT, Deputy Masaitis states that the legal status of young Lithuanians serving in the Army is that of members of an occupation army. Therefore, they should cease to serve in that army.

At 1311 GMT, the chairman of the session proposes that a commission be set up to examine all the proposals in this matter.

At 1316 GMT, Deputy Oleka stresses that the situation in the Army is critical as far as the well-being of Lithuanians is concerned. Therefore, desertion from the Army is on the increase. Some kind of alternative service for young people should be introduced. He proposes that a corresponding amendment in the Lithuanian Constitution be introduced providing for the formation of some kind of Lithuanian armed forces.

At 1329 GMT, writer Jasiukaityte expresses the anxiety of Lithuanian mothers over the well-being of their sons serving in the Army. She proposes that a special committee be formed to deal with problems concerning the coming Army call-up. She also calls for a protest over Lithuanian youths being sent to serve in Transcaucasia.

At 1339 GMT, an unidentified deputy condemns the existence of very poor relations among the servicemen, which harm the physical and moral state of Lithuania's young people. He also states that military exercises very often harm the interests of the economy by diverting important specialists from their direct duties during the exercises.

At 1344 GMT, K. Motieka submits a report begining with the role of the Red Army in the annexation of Lithuania in 1940 and its status to this day.

"Not much has changed to this day," Motieka says. "It is already clear that the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party, which is inseparably separated from the CPSU, was speaking either on behalf of his party or on behalf of all the people of Lithuania in Moscow, assuring his superiors in this way: We regard the Soviet Armed Forces stationed in the republic as a force which in future will take part in the the solution of the question of Lithuania as a sovereign republic within the Soviet Union. This was published by PRAVDA on 9 February, [year indistinct] issue number 40, page four. And I quote PRAVDA because in TIESA the armed forces were mentioned in the plural form, as one or more unidentified forces which in future will decide the issue of our presence in the Soviet Union.

"I am not concerned with the separated or not separated status of the Lithuanian Communist Party. However, let me ask this from this rostrum: Who gave the right to the secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party to voice such a point of view on the Soviet Armed Forces, saying that the Soviet Armed Forces would decide the question of Lithuania's presence in the USSR as was done in 1940?"

"It is a pity and it is also disappointing that the Lithuanian Communist Party, which declared its separation from the CPSU, has so soon forgotten the Lithuanian nation, the people, and their firm desire to reinstate the sovereignty of the Lithuanian state. I would like to see this point given an evaluation not only by the electors but also by all the people of Lithuania."

"Finally, is the Lithuanian Communist Party not going to voice its point of view on all this? Would the Lithuanian Communist Party, like the still existing CPSU in Lithuania or similar non-Lithuanian organizations also support the idea of a sovereign and independent Lithuania within the Soviet Union as proposed by these organizations?"

"Armed forces have always been the main tool for occupation and enslaving in the hands of the occupant. Today, attempts are being made to convince the people of this republic that military units located in the republic are not an occupational army. They say that the occupational army is quite different to the Red Army of 1940.

"However, this is a villainous lie told by the occupier. The present occupation of Lithuania and its annexation are the continuation of the same policy of the Soviet Union in 1940. The guarantee for the implementation of this policy is the same tool again, which is the Soviet Armed Forces."

At 1355 GMT, Deputy Nekrosius states that the situation in the Army as far as Lithuanians are concerned should not be exaggerated. There must be discipline in each Army and the state must rely on it obeying all orders and acting in defense of the country. He supports a professional Army and also a reduction in the Armed Forces. In reorganizing the Army, an integrated program must be drawn up as this is a very important task.

At 1405 GMT, Deputy Kazimieras Antanavicius says that a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place yesterday. Its first decisions were interesting in that they concerned Lithuania and other republics. Antanavicius describes the decisions, including the decision that Estonia's and Lithuania's conclusions on the German-Soviet treaty in 1939 are invalid. Antanavicius continues: "I stated that this problem is very important, that this is the question concerning the republican parliament and its competence. It should be examined seriously with the participation of both sides. This conclusion by the experts of the Supreme Soviet Presidium greatly differs from the Supreme Soviet conclusion. I said that such judgment by default [uzakinis] in this dispute will not yield any results. It is essential to sit down and seriously discuss this problem. A conclusion from Comrade Gorbachev then followed—his concluding speech followed—and the presidium supported the idea that this problem concerning Estonia and Lithuania be left to the USSR Supreme Soviet."

At 1418 GMT, Algirdas Brazauskas speaks of the need to set up a commission on the draft law concerning military service. "Only by means of practical negotiation can we achieve practical results, but not only by accusing each other, looking for some reasons to apportion blame. I am not going to speak for a long time, but I would like to reply to Deputy Motieka and to others who draw conclusions from a single word. And this isn't happening for the first time. When one speaks somewhere, journalists describe things in their own words. To draw far-reaching conclusions from a single word, I think, is not honorable. I can tell you that at that plenum where one had to stand for one hour and explain, when one had to speak on the spot, it is easy for a word to slip out. I did not have the text, and I did not see the dispatch which was published. When I read PRAVDA I was astonished. I was astonished that this word was inserted. I think that we should create an impression about each other from our total work, from our common aims, our common efforts, but let us not cling to a single word, not draw such profound conclusions, and not say to each other such bitter and undeserved words."

At 1422 GMT, General Visockas states that the Lithuanian military commissariat is doing everything to make the life of Lithuanian servicemen easier. At present 74 percent of Lithuanian servicemen are discharging their military duties in the European part of the Soviet Union, and married servicemen in Lithuania.

At 1434 GMT, the session adjourns for 20 minutes.

At 1455 GMT, the session resumes its work. The chairman states that the session should finish tomorrow and correspondingly he asked to keep all speeches short.

At 1457 GMT, Deputy Ozolas remarks on procedures for deciding on the deployment of Soviet troops in Lithuania.

At 1501 GMT, Deputy Vaisvila stresses that any provocations before the elections in Lithuania must be avoided. There have been many delays in passing the necessary laws and this must be avoided.

At 1508 GMT, Minister Antanas Zinkus proposes that medical commissions at the military secretariats should be abolished. Their task can be entrusted to local health commissions.

At 1510 GMT, the debate on this item of the agenda is concluded.

At 1512 GMT, Deputy Laurusas takes over the chairmanship of the session. He states that all deputies have before them a draft resolution on the beginning of negotiations on the restoration of Lithuania's independence. This problem is to be debated later.

At 1514 GMT, debate of the draft reorganization of social insurance begins. The presenter of the draft quotes many figures stating that the system of social insurance should be urgently reorganized, that the republic should take over responsibility for social insurance, and that trade unions and various organizations support this idea.

At 1526 GMT, debates on social security continue. Many deputies take part in the debate. Issues concerning the situation in the Lithuanian trade unions, health care, and many others are discussed. Reception is poor during this portion of the relay.

At 1549 GMT, Petras Ignotas, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, takes the floor to conclude the debate. He says that most trade union committees refuse to carry out the function of social security. He proposes changes in the text of the decision.

At 1549 GMT, a vote is taken on the decisions to restructure the state social security system. It is adopted by the majority of votes.

At 1551 GMT, Romualdas Ozolas speaks about the time on the agenda of the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the restoration of Lithuanian independence. He says that the chairman of this Supreme Soviet said the question will be presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

R. Ozolas asks the session to support the statement of the USSR people's deputies which said: "The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet supports the statement by USSR people's deputies from Lithuania who represent the electors here in Lithuania requesting the restoration of Lithuanian independence through negotiations and supports their actions in the implementation of this resolution at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At 1611 GMT, after a lengthy debate, this statement is given support.

At 1616 GMT, a report on the problems of agriculture in Lithuania is started by an official of the Lithuanian State Planning Committee.

At 1620 GMT, the relay is discontinued without any explanation.

Bank Legislation Passed

LD1302213690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] a TASS correspondent reports from Vilnius:

The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has already discussed the majority of the 26 points confirmed on the agenda in 1 week of its work.

A decision has been adopted on the establishment of a Lithuanian Bank. According to the law which has been approved, the Lithuanian bank, which will be subordinate only to the republic's Supreme Soviet, has been granted exclusive rights to put the republic's money into circulation. Its main tasks have been defined as: regulating money and credit in circulation, organizing internal and external payments executed by the bank, regulating the activities of other credit institutions, and a number of other functions.

Amendments have been made to relevant articles of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, laying down that the supreme supervision of the precise and uniform fulfillment of laws on the republic's territory is implemented by the procurator of the Lithuanian SSR, who is appointed by the republic's Supreme Soviet.

A law on the judicial system and the status of judges was adopted on first presentation. It lays down, in particular, that criminal cases concerning especially dangerous crimes, for the commission of which the penal code envisages the death penalty, are examined by a jury. The law presents clearly the judicial system and the status of judges; much attention is devoted to guaranteeing their independence.

A law on archives was adopted. It establishes, in particular, that Lithuania's stocks of archives are the republic's national possession and are under its jurisdiction.

The republic's Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on the perestroyka of the social insurance system. Henceforth, social insurance in Lithuania, which was hitherto under the control of the trade unions, has been transferred to the republic's state bodies.

Discussion of the issue of service by citizens of the republic in the Soviet Army was heated. A decision on that point has not yet been adopted.

A draft law on the militia was given its first reading. After the amendments which were proposed have been inserted, it will be published in the press for supplementary discussion at the next session.

Other important matters in state and public life were also discussed.

The session will continue its work tomorrow.

Most of Agenda Discussed

LD1302205290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] The Lithuania Supreme Soviet session has, in a week of work, already discussed most of the issues on the agenda. A decision has been adopted, for example, on setting up a Lithuanian bank; a law has been approved on the judiciary system and the status of judges; and on archives. A decision has been adopted on perestroyka in the social insurance system.

There was a pointed discussion of the issue of republican citizens serving in the Soviet Army. A decision has not yet been aodpted on this issue. A draft law on the militia has been examined in the first reading. Other important issues in state and public life were also discussed. Tomorrow the session will continue its work.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets

90UN0922B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] A meeting of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on

31 January. The meeting was chaired by Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

There were 48 items on the meeting's agenda. Some of them were associated with preparations for the upcoming 17th session of the 11th convocation of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

It was decided to propose discussion additionally at the session of the question of state and national holidays of the Lithuanian SSR. The draft calls for the announcement of 16 February, Day of the Rebirth of the Lithuanian State, as a state holiday, and national holidays are determined by tradition for Easter, Mother's Day on the first Sunday in May, Day of Mourning and Hope on 14 June, Remembrance Day on 1 November, and Christmas on 25 December.

Draft alterations to Chapter 2 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, "the Economic System," were discussed. They will be submitted for examination by the 17th session of the Supreme Soviet together with the Draft Law on the Principles of Ownership in the Lithuanian SSR which was discussed at the meeting. The presidium also discussed other bills which will be discussed at this session on the principles of local self-management, judicial administration and the status of judges, the press and other media, archives, the Lithuanian bank, and also additions to the Lithuanian SSR Land Code.

The presidium approved a submission of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers concerning the building in Mazheykyay of the "Ekolit" Soviet-Italian joint venture, whose capacity will be 520,000 tons of gasoline components a year. This matter will be submitted for discussion by the Supreme Soviet.

Three Lithuanian SSR bills were discussed at the presidium meeting: on responsibility for the extermination of the population, freedom of belief, and political parties. They will be published in the press for public discussion.

A report was received on the findings of the commission looking into the 1939 German-Soviet treaties and their consequences for Lithuania. The report was delivered by Yuras Pozhela, chairman of the commission and president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. The corresponding draft Supreme Soviet decree was issued and will be submitted at the session.

The meeting discussed the question of the proposition adopted at a session of the Shalchininkskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies concerning a Shalchininkskiy Polish national territorial rayon with self-administration within the Lithuanian SSR. The Supreme Soviet Presidium recognized the proposition as being illegal and contrary to the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and proposed that the rayon soviet reexamine its decision. It was proposed that the republic's law and order authorities study in conjunction with the ministries and departments how laws are being observed in Shalchininkskiy Rayon by state, economic, and public organizations and by the citizens, paying particular attention here to antistate phenomena and the incitement of national discord.

A public council for the affairs of eastern Lithuania was formed for the purpose of increasing public attention to the political, economic, and social processes occurring in eastern Lithuania, preventing the formation of centers of national hostility, and spreading in these parts the ideas of the national and state revival of the whole of Lithuania. It will operate under the auspices of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The question of the possibility of military and alternative (labor) service of Lithuanian SSR citizens was discussed. The draft of the proposed Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet decree stipulates that Lithuanian SSR citizens liable for the draft should not be sent to the military camps of other union republics, where, on the pretext of training, they will perform seasonal work in agriculture, construction, and so forth, unrelated to the defense of the state or their military specialty. A Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet commission for preparation of a draft law on alternative (labor) service will be formed.

The presidium explained that at the time of elections to the local soviets, the rayon and city authorities of public and political organizations and public movements each has the right to nominate a candidate for deputy per electoral okrug created by any soviet of people's deputies on the territory of this city or rayon. The primary organizations of these movements and organizations each has the right to nominate a candidate for deputy in the electoral okrugs for elections of the corresponding people's deputies where these primary organizations are located.

Ordinances and regulations of the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and a number of central ministries and departments were registered at the meeting.

Note was taken of decrees of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the nonconformity of certain legislative instruments of the union republics, of Lithuania specifically, with the USSR Constitution and USSR laws.

Questions of awards and pardons and other problems of state life were discussed. The meeting concluded late in the evening.

Lithuanian Central Committee Bureau Meets

90UN0922A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] A meeting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has discussed topical questions of the political life of the party and the republic as a whole.

The Breau approved the draft proposals of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee concerning restructuring in the CPSU. The status of territorial organizations of the Lithuanian Communist Party has been conferred on the party organizations of the Vilnius Oktyabrskiy and Novovilnyaskiy Rayons and of the community of Snechkus, uniting the primary organizations that recognize the program and statute of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

A resolution was adopted in accordance with which the resolutions of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee concerning the lists of staff of paid officials in primary organizations of the Lithuanian Communist Party are invalid. The primary organizations have been instructed to resolve before 30 April questions regarding the lists of paid officials or of extra payments to the activists with regard for available resources.

The Bureau has determined that it would be expedient to organize a commission composed of representatives of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the Provisional Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee (on the CPSU Platform) for the solution of questions which have arisen concerning the property of the Lithuanian Communist Party and financial and economic problems and has proposed representatives of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee for this commission.

The question of a change in the status of the newspapers TIYESA and SOVETSKAYA LITVA was discussed. It was decided to consider TIYESA and SOVETSKAYA LITVA newspapers of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. Proposals of the readers and editorial office of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee newspaper CZERWONY SZTANDAR concerning a change in the name of the newspaper were approved. As of February the newspaper will be published under the name of KURYER VILENSKI.

Discussed were appeals of officials and individual citizens to the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with the fact that there have been instances of the incitement of national discord in Vilnyusskiy Rayon and other parts of the republic.

The report of the working group entrusted with mapping out the criteria according to which the party will dissociate itself from members who have broken legal and moral rules was received. The directions of the group's activity were approved, and the enlistment therein of more party activists was proposed.

Moldavian Central Committee Plenum To Be 27 Feb

LD0802105790 Kishinev Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau is appealing to the party committees, primary party organizations, communists, and nonparty members of the republic:

In the preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee has deemed it necessary to analyze thoroughly the progress of perestroyka in the republic and to prepare and to present to the Communists and to all inhabitants of Moldavia specific measures for the cardinal renewal of the activity of the republican party organization. Work on this is already being done.

A routine plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee will take place on 27 February 1990. It is planned that it will comprehensively analyse sociopolitical, socioeconomic and spiritual processes, the condition of the Moldavian Communist Party, ways of ensuring its vanguard role in real terms, and the extent to which the style and methods of the work of party committees correspond to the requirements of the time. The plenum will define the program for preparing and holding the next, 17th Moldavian Communist Party Congress, which it is planned to convene in May this year.

In connection with these highly important events in the republic's life, the Central Committee deems it its direct duty to consult Communists, nonparty members, and all social forces on the problems of perestroyka in the republic and to check its own points of reference against the opinions of the broad masses of working people. You are requested to send relevant proposals, critical observations, reflections, and judgments to the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, 105 Prospekt Lenina, and to the editorial offices of newspapers, magazines, radio and television, marked: For the 18th plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted: list of telephone numbers]

Moldavian Situation 'Remains Complex'

LD0902055890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Fesunenko] The dramatic events in the Transcaucasus and the acute processes that have recently been under way in the Baltic region have somehow slightly diverted our attention from Moldavia, where the situation is not an easy one, as you will remember from autumn and summer last year. The elections to republican and local soviets scheduled for 25 February are now drawing closer there. Watch this report from our correspondents.

[Sergey Medvedev, identified by screen caption] Despite a number of fairly severe measures adopted by the republic's leadership the situation in Moldavia continues to remain fairly complex. The social tension is not abating. For instance one of the latest Supreme Soviet Presidium decisions which was adopted on a basis of mutual agreement, was a decision to ban unsanctioned demonstrations, rallies, and meetings for the next six months. Nevertheless, people are being drawn to the streets. [passage omitted] [video shows correspondent speaking in front of crowd in the street]

[Ivan Petkov, identified by screen caption] A catalyst for aggravating the situation has been speeches by representatives of the Gagauz people demanding the creation of an autonomous republic. Disrespect for the law has been shown in Tiraspol where in the main the Russian-speaking population lives. There at the end of January a town referendum was held on creating a so-called Dnieser Valley ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—Pridnestrovskaya ASSR]

In this situation the People's Front, intermovement, Yedinstvo, the Gagauz (?Khalky), and other social organizations are trying to draw as many voters as possible on to their sides, often by playing on their ethnic sentiments. The result is an ever-growing demarcation of the population on the basis of nationality. This is particularly felt in their work collectives.

Scarcely anyone will try to predict the results of the elections scheduled for 25 February. It only remains to depend on the common sense of the candidates and on those supporting them, the more so since, as the platform of the CPSU Central Committee says, the party will share responsibility for the situation in society with other social formations and organizations that have emerged in the political arena. [video shows crowds in street and street scenes]

Moldavian Union Official Notes Disturbances

90US0489A Moscow TRUD in Russian
3 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with D. Nidelku, member of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium and deputy chairman of the Moldavian Council of Trade Unions, by P. Rashkov: "In Search of Consolidation"]

[Text] The "Vremya" program reported that in connection with the exacerbation of the social and political situation in the republic, an emergency meeting of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium had been held in Kishinev. We asked D. Nidelku, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and deputy chairman of the Moldavian Council of Trade Unions, to comment on this report.

[Nidelku] The reason for the emergency meeting of the Presidium was the exceptional event which took place last Sunday in Tiraspol. A referendum of inhabitants of the city and the adjacent localities was held here. It was proposed that the citizens express their attitude toward two issues: the imparting to Tiraspol of the status of independent territory on the principles of self-management and self-financing with full equality of the languages, and the expediency of the incorporation of the city of Tiraspol in a Dnestr ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] in the event of its formation. On both questions the majority of those who took part in the referendum voted "For."

[Rashkov] What was the reason for the concern at this step on the part of the Tiraspol people?

[Nidelku] The day before the press had published a report on a meeting of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, which pointed out that such referendums, contrary to the Constitution and legislation currently in effect in the republic, did not contribute to removing the accumulated problems but merely served as a catalyst in the exacerbation of the social and political situation. It is perfectly understandable that by its decision the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium (its meeting was televised the following day) unanimously found the referendum to be contrary to the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution, in connection with which its results have no legal force and entail no legal consequences.

[Rashkov] I understand that last Sunday did not pass without incident in Kishinev?

[Nidelku] This is so, and this also could not have failed to give rise to serious concern among members of the Presidium. The point being that, following an authorized meeting of members of the Matiyevich Club, some of its participants, succumbing to the appeals of a new public amateur formation, the so-called "Libertat" Association—approximately 1,000 persons—gathered in Victory Square and organized an unauthorized march through the city, shouting out insulting, anti-party slogans. It ultimately reached the point where some participants in the mass meeting beat up two citizens at the station. This culminated in the arrest of an active instigator of the incident. When the bulk of the people who had taken part in the mass meeting learned of the arrest, they rushed to police station, blocked off the building and demanded the release of the detainee. And although he was released, those blocking the building attempted to get inside the station and smashed the glass doors. Station officers cut short the attempt to penetrate the operations room, after which about 20-25 young people made for the republic youth center, where they once again attempted to provoke fights with the citizens. And the incident was quelled only by the actions of a special police squad.

[Rashkov] This was not the first instance of the republic's capital being relatively disturbed on days off. This year unauthorized marches with a variety of incidents have taken place practically every Sunday. What is being done to normalize the situation in the capital and other cities and regions of the republic?

[Nidelku] Aside from the question of the referendum in Tiraspol, the emergency meeting of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium also discussed the state of the social and political situation in the republic. Leaders of practically all public formations were invited to this meeting, and we discussed together measures to stabilize the situation. The proposal of P.K. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, concerning the announcement of a six-month moratorium on all unauthorized activities conflicting with current legislation was received with understanding, for example. All the speakers addressed the need to search for paths of consolidation in the republic, and agreement was reached on the organization, after the elections to the local and republic soviets, of a "round-table" with the participation of representatives of all movements and public formations of Moldavia. In a word, there is reason to believe that the social and political situation in the republic will, despite the difficulties, return to normal.

Moldavian Green Party Wins Registration

PM0802164490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Eduard Kondratov report from Kishinev: "The 'Greens' Get Rights"]

[Text] For a whole year the Moldavian ecological and social movement "Aktsiunya Verde" [as transliterated] or AVE, uniting hundreds of enthusiasts, was forced to exist all but illegally. The whole republic knew about the activities of its "Greens" from numerous articles in periodicals, from pointed documentary films, and from expeditions to protect the cleanness of the Dnestr, the Prut, and minor Moldavian rivers. The AVE maintains wide contacts with the "Green" movements of Moscow, the Ukraine, the Baltic region, and even the United States, and organizes ecological clubs and centers in rayons and cities of the republic.

The Kishinev gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee], the prosecutor's office, senior officials of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and even the board of the republic Journalists' Union did everything to prevent the "Greens" from being registered as an organization. The attempts of the "Greens" to explain that AVE's activities help to consolidate people around panhuman problems and serve to ease interethnic friction were in vain.

Last October the "Greens" were finally able to hold an inaugural conference. But they managed to get their statutes registered at the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers only in recent days. For the AVE the wasted time meant a lost opportunity to nominate its candidates for the republic's forthcoming elections of deputies to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and to local soviets.

Today the Moldavian voluntary ecological society AVE received its civic rights. And this also means the official right to hold mass actions for the sake of defending Moldavia's natural environment and realizing the people's right to live in a healthy environment. The AVE statutes approved by the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers contain provisions which, without any doubt, will soon become a subject of serious concern to the departments and economic planners whose activities are creating a threat to the natural environment and health of people not only in Moldavia, but also in the whole Dnestr basin.

Kishinev Election Meeting Addressed by Luchinskiy

LD1102164590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Kishinov, 11 Feb (ATEM-TASS)—Today, in the Moldavian capital tens of thousands of people took part in a republican meeting of the electorate. This is how this authorized mass rally of representatives from various towns and rayons of the republic was described by its organiser—the People's Front of Moldavia. Among those taking part were republican leaders, USSR people's deputies, and representatives of nonofficial [samodeyatelnyy] public movements in the republic.

Petr Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Committee, called for the electorate not to give way to their emotions, to treat critically any speculative unrealistic proposals, and to consider soberly the platform of each candidate. It is possible, he said, that we are going through a very severe test in our lives. We will make an unpardonable mistake if we give our support to dishonest and incompetent political opportunists who hope to satisfy their personal ambitions. He again spoke in favor of dialogue and cooperation between the republican party organizations and all political movement of Moldavia, with the aim of stabilizing the political situation and improving the economic situation.

The meeting lasted over four hours. Dozens of people spoke, amongst them being Mircha Snegur, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia, USSR people's deputies, and Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic candidate people's deputies. They called for the setting up of a Moldavian parliament which could ensure genuine sovereignty of the republic in the framework of a renewed Soviet federation, and which could tackle complex economic, social, environmental, and spiritual problems. [passage omitted] Most speeches of the leaders of the republic, the People's Front, and of representatives of other public movements clearly voiced the idea that it is necessary to consolidate all public forces of the republic, as well as joint constructive efforts aimed at implementing the aims of perestroyka.

Moldavia Registers Ecological Society

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[Text] The Moldavian Government has registered a new ecological society Actiunea Verde, Green Action. Founded a year ago, the society has officially been granted the right to hold mass actions in defense of the environment. Its members have already inspected several rivers. Not long ago the society stopped cutting trees in floodlands of the Prut River. The Green Action society maintains ties with its counterparts in other Soviet republics.

Moldavian Second Secretary Interviewed

90US0454A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 14 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with V.K. Pshenichnikov, second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, by MOLDOVA SOCHIALIST and SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA correspondents V. Atamanenko and E. Shalimov; place and date not given: "Renewal Is the Only Way"]

[Text] [Correspondents] Vyacheslav Konstantinovich, both our newspapers have in general already started to talk about today's party affairs and the preparations for the 17th Moldavian Communist Party [MCP] Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress. We would also like to talk to you within the framework of this debate. The questions that we shall ask you are mainly prompted and engendered by the dialogue between the newspapers and their readers. And they include some that often affect us most—the question of the place and role of the party in perestroyka and in our rapidly changing world.

[Pshenichnikov] Yes, today everything prompts serious debate and dialogue in society on this theme. Although it must be admitted that it is not so simple for me to be involved in it. Many debates are under way here, and diametrically opposed opinions are sometimes being expressed. But we hear little enough about what could be immediately and unconditionally accepted. And the theoretical work in this matter is obviously inadequate. Work on the CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th CPSU Congress is not complete. Let us not therefore exaggerate each other's possibilities and regard today's interview as an attempt to consider and weigh approaches to the very process of comprehensive and decisive renewal of the party, which, of course, is an acute and immediate item on the agenda. But it is naturally an invitation to all communists, and not only communists, and to taking collective counsel on what the party should be today and what its elected organs and apparatus, and indeed all communists, should be.

[Correspondents] Perhaps for a start we can try to look at this unique paradox. It is generally accepted that the initiator of perestroyka was the party, which for itself as a force in society proclaimed the rejection of administrative-command methods and is now orienting all its elements on the change to political methods. It is thought that most of the people also recognize the fact that the party is the only force that can advance perestroyka by consolidating other public movements. Notwithstanding, the wave of criticism aimed at the CPSU from the most varied strata of society is growing. What is the explanation for this?

[Pshenichnikov] First of all it is obviously that the first steps toward renewal, democratization, and perestroyka in the party itself, and in the MCP in particular, and was far from equal in nature. On the one hand we advanced noticeably in removing the secrecy, so to speak, of all activity by the party and its organs and apparatus, in affirming glasnost and openness, in the democratization of cadre policy, in the development of criticism and self-criticism, and initiative "from below." Party comradeship and collegiality are increasingly becoming the norm of our life. This can be seen in the work of the MCP Bureau and Central Committee Secretariat. I think that it can also be said that with the creation of the standing commissions of the Central Committee we have succeeded in enhancing its role as an elected organ, activating the members of the Central Committee, and seriously weakening the diktat of the departments and the apparatus in general.

We must also see something else. Cutting back the party apparatus and eliminating the sector departments and consolidating and reorganizing others, and the certification of party workers at all levels have all been mainly of quite pro forma nature. It can even be said that it has not had any significant effect on the quality of party work.

There is more: The steps taken to delineate the spheres of activity is freeing up the party, and in one sense it is already free of functions that are not properly its functions. But to whom are those functions being transferred? The soviets of people's deputies have not yet been set up in a form in which they could assume functions of leadership and full responsibility. Only the upcoming elections and session of the Supreme Soviet, which will follow the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, will, we hope, augment their strength with real power. Until that happens many of the functions from which the party has been freed are returning like boomerangs and striking it painfully.

It is also obvious that even with all the decisiveness of the rejection of the command-administrative style of work, the party still has no smoothly operating system of purely political, we might even say democratic, methods of leadership. There are still more declarations than concrete changes. Unfortunately, on this plane even the party committee standing commissions have not enriched us. It is only since the MCP Central Committee 16th Plenum that priorities have been set for its activity. But that is little enough. We need conceptually formulated, long-term directions chosen for their political methods and strength. We need a clear-cut strategy and tactics precisely for the current complex conditions of party activity. The lack of this, let us be candid, is disorganizing the work of the departments and party workers in the Central Committee and in other party committees, and not just there either.

Add to this the just plain mistakes and miscalculations that have been repeatedly mentioned, for example, at Central Committee plenums, and add the passiveness of many of the lower party elements and party members, and I think that the sources of the criticism aimed at the party and the attacks on its constitutional position, and ultimately people's increasingly critical attitude toward the party and its organs and apparatus become understandable.

[Correspondents] Well, an answer giving a candid analysis of the situation. But what is the solution?

[Pshenichnikov] Let us talk for now about the MCP. First and foremost we simply must approach its 17th Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress with a clear and precise platform on which to base all the reforms and all restructuring of the republic party organization. The kind of platform that would enable us to advance toward our goal without changing our course time after time, and under no circumstances going into reverse.

[Correspondents] Very many communists are today saying that clear landmarks and a sound party platform are extremely necessary. In a whole series of letters to our editorial offices it is emphasized that without such a platform there can be no thought of fruitful dialogue in society on the threshold of the 17th MCP Congress and 28th CPSU Congress. But in this connection our next question arises: What is the status of this important document? And what, in particular, should be the essential nature of this platform? In other words, the essential nature of perestroyka in the MCP?

[Pshenichnikov] Not a simple question. Let me start by saying that a year ago the Central Committee set the standing commissions the task of drawing up a concept for activity during the period of democratization, perestroyka, and renewal of the party. Unfortunately, this work has been sluggish and unfruitful. It was only the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum that imparted the necessary alacrity to it.

We now already have more or less clear ideas about the political platform of the the MCP for its 17th Congress. But to be candid, even those ideas are far from what might be desired. No, it is not a matter of, as in earlier times, the apparatus producing a ready-made draft that without any significant changes becomes the document itself. The platform will be born during the course of extensive discussion (here we are placing great hopes in the participation of and help from the press).

I personally think that aside from the conceptual well, approaches to the platform should also contain forms and methods for party leadership in perestroyka processes and ways to renew the activity of the primary party organizations and party apparatus and raise the sense of responsibility and initiative in party workers and all communists.

What, in my opinion, should the future platform contain in the socioeconomic field? Undoubtedly, provisions on unremitting control over realization of the "Zhilye-95" program, providing the population with the basic foodstuffs and everyday consumer goods, solving manpower problems, employment, population migration, developing the southern regions of the republic, the ecology, and reforms in higher and public schools.

The most important task is to insure by the end of the 13th Five-Year Plan that the population in the republic is being supplied with all kinds of foodstuffs in line with scientifically sounds standards. And in order to achieve this each city and each village should have its own food program that is being precisely fulfilled. For the party, the focus of attention should remain the comprehensive provision of amenities for the villages, the installation of gas in them, along with centralized heating and water supplies, roads, and sociocultural and everyday projects.

I think that one very important direction in the activity of the MCP must naturally be the implementation of a policy of radical perestroyka in production relations and switching the entire economy to the principle of self-management and self-financing, which will ultimately make it possible to implement more effectively the enormous economic, labor, and intellectual potential of the republic.

Interesting proposals are already being submitted in the field of human spiritual development, ideological work, and the harmonization of interethnic relations. They are pointing the party organizations to the adoption of measures insuring satisfaction for the spiritual needs of all national groups living on Moldavian territory. There can be but one goal for policy in this field, namely, to act in such a way that all citizens in any part of the republic and of the country feel that it is their home.

In the section covering the party and its role in society, and internal party relations, it is, I think, natural to announce that the MCP stands firmly at Marxist-Leninist positions and considers itself one of the detachments of the CPSU, which are based on common political and ideological positions and therefore are against federalization of the CPSU.

[Correspondents] Events in Lithuania (what we have in mind is primarily the split by the Lithuanian Communist Party and the withdrawal of most of its people from the CPSU) are forcing, even provoking a number of questions. The more so since you were present at the last CPSU Central Committee plenum, which was convened to deal with this issue, and your own personal impressions are of some interest. First question: In your view, what is more important today, the ideological or the organizational unity of all CPSU detachments? Perhaps putting the question in this way will grate on the ears, but since statements are being made about ideological unity without organizational unity, then it is proper to phrase it thus. The second question is one about attitudes toward the independence of the union republic communist parties, first and foremost, naturally, the MCP.

[Pshenichnikov] I shall answer these out of order, according to what seems to me to be the priority. What is party independence? If we have in mind political centrifugal force, separatism, disengagement, self-isolation, then, I am convinced, it is unnecessary. It is a delusion that any good can come of this.

For the CPSU is first, second, and third organizational and ideological unity for all its members, regardless of territory, or nationality, or social affiliation. It is unity of political goals on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our ideology cannot be leased out or cultivated independently.

If we are talking about independence then we must talk about independence in tactics within the framework of the common course. A union republic communist party should itself determine the set of priority tasks at each stage of perestroyka, plan and program its work, develop its own approaches, methods, and means, and independently resolve all matters pertaining to its own internal structure and function.

With respect to what is more important—party ideological unity or organizational unity—I personally would never counterpose these concepts. But on the other hand, today I am not about to thoughtlessly repeat the old stereotypical phrases about it going without saying that there is organizational and ideological unity in the party. Development takes place through resolution of particular contradictions that arise. This is so in any matter. And now the old concept of organizational unity has moved into a position of some contradiction with its content, and this will take time. And I think that this brings us to a more specific answer to the question of independence for the MCP.

Let us start from the premise that it has first and foremost its own rich and at times complex and dramatic national history. For example, in 1989 alone a Central Committee document was adopted that clearly and rightly interprets everything associated with the communist organization of Bessarabia and the fate of its members following the unification of that area with the Soviet motherland. At the same time, the entire history of the MCP is illuminated with the light of internationalism. Its best representatives have been recognized not only within the republic but also throughout the country and beyond.

And now the majority of MCP members are indigenous inhabitants of the republic, first and foremost Moldavians. But the republic party organization has been and remains international both in terms of its make-up and its spirit.

It unites the most conscious workers, peasants, and representatives of the intelligentsia regardless of nationality. For the MCP it is of fundamental importance that each of them have a solicitous and understanding attitude toward the history and culture and traditions of an area, and that those who do not speak Moldavian have an interest in learning it. At the same time, any kind of delineation within the party ranks on a national basis is impermissible. We totally agree with the conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum that "nationalist and chauvinist views and opinions are incompatible with membership in the CPSU." That is why the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, which proclaimed what is essentially a break with the CPSU, which can be called a blow at perestroyka, has caused us all such alarm.

The communists of Moldavia support the conclusion drawn by the CPSU Central Committee plenum that our common strength and the guarantee of advance along the path of perestroyka lies primarily in the unity of the CPSU. The MCP is not casting doubt on its own existence as part of the CPSU.

But while emphasizing this, at the same time it must be said that life is moving ahead, presenting us with increasingly complex problems and forcing us to re-examine much of past practice. One item on the agenda is now the question of the new content of our federation, and the independence not only of the labor collectives but also entire regions of the union republics. Resolution of this question is in turn linked to recognition and consolidation of the independence of the union republic communist parties and the city and rayon and primary party organizations.

It seems to me that in this connection it is essential to have a clear understanding of two factors. Let us start with the fact that the CPSU, which expresses the vivifying processes of perestroyka, can also be a serious brake on the path of deepening perestroyka if it is not itself renewed and restructured. It is little enough to abandon command-administrative methods, little enough even to revive the Leninist lineament of socialism and the party. If we want to be in fact the vanguard force in society and really lead it better in the future, then we must renew ourselves so that the new mechanism of internal party life through the party committees and through the communists will constantly insure fulfillment of this very important function. This is why it is essential that the CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th CPSU Congress contain a clear-cut program for self-renewal. Only if that occurs shall we be able to devise new party rules for a renewed party, and create a basis for an up-to-date constitutional formulation for the CPSU. Herein lies an important condition for the renewal of the MCP and its acquisition of independence as part of the CPSU.

What is the most important and fundamental thing here? It is the CPSU platform "Party National Policy Under Current Conditions," which recognizes that "within the framework of the existing structure of the union republic communist parties it is essential to bring about a strengthening of their independence. This will be promoted by offering them the right to decide at their discretion the main questions of party life—organizational-structural, cadre, financial, and others—and to adopt within the framework of the CPSU rules their own political documents expressing the specific national requirements and conditions for the activity of communists." And further: "Consideration of the national factor and the organic combination of national and international values and interests should become an integral element of all party work."

Unfortunately, neither the central nor the republic press have yet discussed this proposition seriously. But the times demand it, the more so since the time periods for holding the 17th MCP Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress are quite close. The above-mentioned provisions in the CPSU Central Committee platform will not be fully worked out if we do not fill them more deeply with the two fundamental party principles of internationalism and democratic centralism.

The former should be rethought and made deeper in such a way that international and national interests are combined in fact, so that on the one hand they cement the CPSU unity, while on the other they are not regulated or linked to the independence of the union republic communist parties and all the lower party elements. With respect to democratic centralism, it is now unviable in the form in which it has been conducted up to now because it fails to guarantee independence for the integral elements of the CPSU. Here it is important, while preserving sensible centralism, to develop and deepen the democratic components of this dual principle on a fundamental new basis.

This is all essential in order finally to form a reliable and whole mechanism that insures the function of the independent union republic communist party and all its elements as part of the CPSU. It obviously stems from this that the CPSU rules must include a new section on the independent union republic communist parties. In contrast to the current section it must make provision not for the execution of directives and basic obligations but first and foremost broad rights of independence in resolving virtually all tasks, giving due consideration to national history and specific features, but strictly in agreement with being part of a unified CPSU.

I suggest that for us this is a particularly serious and crucial task and it must necessarily be reflected in the platform of the MCP for the 17th MCP Congress and proceed through mass discussion by all communists, public movements, and the various strata of society.

Now about my impressions from the latest CPSU Central Committee plenum. It is not a simple matter to consider this even for myself. This plenum was very ambiguous and controversial. Suffice it to say that no draft decisions, nor even arrangements for them, were proposed. There was only M.S. Gorbachev's report, which in my opinion defined the situation quite clearly and in a well-considered manner. And then a great deal came out of the discussions. The most diverse viewpoints and proposals were expressed, some diametrically opposed to each other. Some speakers suggested that the Lithuanian Communist Party be disbanded. Others, on the contrary, thought that we must recognize it as a fait accompli. As you know, the approach that prevailed was the one set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's report. The plenum was broken off, and then, as events unfold further, we can follow them. The main thing is clear: The unity of the CPSU must be preserved since a split will in no way strengthen us all, but will, on the contrary, weaken us. And I would like to emphasize that the plenum moved far beyond the framework of discussing events in Lithuania. It was a very serious discussion about CPSU unity in general.

[Correspondents] Vyacheslav Konstantinovich, we are still dealing with problems mainly on the scale of the CPSU and the MCP. But many of our readers think (this can be seen from their letters) that the greater misfortune is that it is mutual relations between the primary party organizations and the party committees that are changing most slowly during the course of perestroyka. What, in your opinion, are the problems here?

[Pshenichnikov] I would say that a certain democratization of these mutual relations is taking place but very many problems remain. Conservatism is unfortunately a multifaceted phenomenon, including the psychological aspect. It has eaten into many things. Under the conditions of the administrative-command system in management of the state, the same kind of system developed in the party, and under that system its own forms and methods were shaped that produced a certain effect. For many people it is not yet clear how to work in the new way, and no mechanism has been developed for mutual relations between the primary party organizations and the party committee in what we might call the age of perestroyka. This is, in fact, a sore point. But if we have the "from above" command syndrome this means that independence is taken away. Hence one very important task, namely, all party committee leaders (for a great deal depends on them) must decisively and firmly reject the command system.

But there is another aspect to this. You will agree that much has already been done to democratize the internal life of the primary party organizations. Their leaders are being chosen on a democratic basis. At party meetings everything that is troubling communists is talked about very candidly. But beyond that we are slipping. Openness and criticism in speech most often does not become transformed into practical matters. And under the sign of the need to break the command-administrative style we sometimes also sacrifice party discipline to this breaking. But no one has abolished it in the party. And the renewed party will be built on the principle of democratic centralism. To divorce democracy from responsibility is a big mistake.

How to deal with this kind of problem? It is essential first and foremost to shape a new cadre corps. Not replace everyone and everything, but retrain them. For example, we have sharply increased the number of those studying in MCP Central Committee courses. And there is another factor that must not be forgotten. It is no secret that the command system is preserved in the apparatus. We have made serious cutbacks—about one-third. The roots of the bureaucracy have been cut in the party. But not everything is proceeding so smoothly....

[Correspondents] Obviously to a large extent all the faults, past and present, are being laid at the door of the apparatus, and thus the apparatchik. The indeterminate nature of any statement can scarcely be a sign of its correctness, the more so in this question. But there can be no doubt of the fact that the apparatuses of the party organs need serious restructuring. But exactly how, in your opinion?

[Pshenichnikov] I would regard this question as being closely linked to the problem of perestroyka in the work of the elected party organs. Here, much is being done only in a pro forma manner. And this is not because there is no desire to change anything. It is simply not clear how to change the work of an elected organ and its apparatus, or how to build their mutual relations. At the local level they do not deviate one step from what is recommended "from above." And the recommendations are largely of a general nature. I have no ready recipes for how to resolve these problems. Two directions exist and are being proposed for restructuring elected organs and their apparatuses, and also their work.

The one, in particular, is that conferences should be abandoned and more use made of congresses, dividing them into accountability congresses and operational congresses. Here, the functions of the bureau, secretariat, and apparatus should be laid directly on the members of the corresponding central committees, gorkoms [city party committees], and raykoms [rayon party committees].... There is food for thought here. But to me personally, another path seems more rational. First, retain the plenums and the conferences and congresses. But hold them as issues build up rather than as some kind of ritual. It is a working event. With respect to the apparatus itself, I think it should consist largely of members of the elected organ, and the rest of its members should be analysts.

We have already talked about the party committee standing commissions. Yes, they are still not working actively enough, and sometimes in a pro forma fashion. But it is nevertheless an important form whereby the members of an elected organ become involved in the work of that organ, a form for collective resolution of long-term strategic questions. We must think about how to improve the work of these commissions, first and foremost by concentrating there the best trained and thoughtful communists and analysts. Today, the question of dealing with the stonelike structure of the elected organs and their commissions and apparatuses is very acute. But even here there are changes worth talking about. Literally days ago a national relations department, an analysis group, and an operations information group were set up under the MCP Central Committee Secretariat.

[Correspondents] No matter what issue we approach, behind it stands the acute problem of cadres. Decisive restructuring of all party activity and its renewal are simply impossible without major changes in cadre policy. What form should this take today, what should a party worker be under current conditions?

[Pshenichnikov] Perhaps we should start with the latter. The party worker should first and foremost have a political lineament that everyone can see. The times demand the kind of party workers who in any situation are able to conduct an open, direct, and fruitful dialogue with the most diverse kinds of people, even with those who in some cases do not hide their negative attitude toward the party. There are many such workers, but still fewer than we would like. This is the frequent subject of debate in the Bureau and Central Committee Secretariat.

Now about cadre policy in general. The essential thing now in this is democratization. It would seem that previously we had institutions for the democratic promotion of cadres but they existed only in a formal way. Now we are moving away from the paper, away from the questionnaires, the formal list of party appointments, the rigid pressure, the foisting on candidates, and so forth. Everything is being done openly and publicly, on a competitive basis. Take these latest facts. The MCP Central Committee Secretary N.A. Kutkovetskiy and Yalovenskiy Raykom First Secretary S.G. Buze were elected on an alternative basis. Taking into account the specific national features of the republic and the MCP, Moldavians, Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, and Gagauz are being elected as members and candidate members of the Central Committee Bureau.

To this it might be added that there are about 400 nonparty leaders in the main group of leading cadres who have been entrusted with important sectors following their election on an alternative basis. Last year 19 of the gorkom and raykom secretaries were replaced, and half of their successors were elected on an alternative basis. One-third of the full-time secretaries of the primary party organizations were elected in the same way. Since in 1988 Moldavians made up only 47.8 percent of the republic party organization, the Central Committee has naturally been paying attention to the inflow of representatives of the indigenous population into the party. Last year the admission of Moldavians into the party increased to 66 percent of the total number admitted. The republic's national features are taken into account when forming the composition of the Central Committee, the gorkoms and raykoms and their apparatuses, and the primary party organizations.

Of course, it is still too early to talk about representation for the population and the national minorities being strictly in line in all management structures. It is not easy to achieve this. Accordingly, particular national groups still have legitimate claims. We need time to deal with the situation.

Undoubtedly it is very important that all public forces in our republic and all the republic's nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups be adequately represented in the organs of power as a result of these current elections. The final word here lies with the voters, but the party committees, too, cannot stand aside when they see, for example, certain distortions and violations.

[Correspondents] Vyacheslav Konstantinovich, today the readers of our newspapers are increasingly raising the question of how to relate to communists and to the other organizations and movements that have emerged in recent years.

[Pshenichnikov] For the ruling party, under conditions of a one-party system it is very important for it to learn how to accumulate the interests of all democratic forces and strata in our society. There is nothing reprehensible in the fact that the communists are part of those public structures any more than it is for the representatives of the fronts and movements to try to be in the party if they are in agreement with the political platform of the MCP and CPSU, and if they stand firmly for perestroyka and the renewal of society and humane, democratic socialism. But naturally, those who are in structures that oppose the party and its unity, and who set themselves the goal not of consolidation but of undermining the unity of society, our federation, and socialism, cannot join the party. But for the rest.... The course of compromise and a mutually acceptable consensus also assume the possibility of healthy political struggle. But we must abandon mutual and unnecessary suspicion.

[Correspondents] A final question. You were saying that the party worker today should have a political lineament. Our readers see this problem in their own way. For example: We want to know the position of each member of the Central Committee Bureau and other leaders. This possibility is now arising more often—at the numerous gatherings and meetings. But by no means all leaders at the republic level are actively engaged in this. Some of them are in no hurry to state their position publicly. Has not the time come to remove this halo of secrecy about most sessions of the Central Committee Bureau that result in some collective and in general anonymous resolution? And permit journalists to be present at these meetings so that they could provide a lively description of what went on and who defended what positions?

[Pshenichnikov] I think that there could be no objections to this.

[Correspondents] Thank you for this candid talk. And we shall hope that our readers—communists and non-party people—will become involved in discussion of the issues that we have touched upon, and of those that we did not, and will continue the debate about the role and place of the MCP and the CPSU on the threshold of the party congresses. We shall be giving them wide coverage.

Committee for Ukrainian Independent Army Formed

LD1302125190 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 13 Feb 90

[From roundup by "independent information agency" INTERFAX]

[Text] An unsanctioned meeting took place in Lvov on 10 February, near the monument to Ivan Franko, in which 4,000 people took part under the slogan: Through the power of the Soviets, without the apparatus, to an independent Ukraine. Those who spoke at the meeting called for Petlyura, Bandera, and Konovalets to be recognized as national heroes and for monuments to be erected to them. It was announced that a committee for the organization of Ukrainian Independent Army has been set up in the town.

Four Ukrainian Obkom First Secretaries Released

LD1302125090 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Four first secretaries of oblast party committees have been released from their posts. In connection with their retirement on pension the political careers of first secretaries Bandrovskiy in Uzhgorod, Postoronko in Ivano-Frankovsk, and Dikusarov in Khmelnitskiy have come to an end. Vinnik, first secretary of the Donetsk party obkom, has been released from his post at his own request.

Kiev Radio on Donetsk Obkom Special Plenum

LD1102175190 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] The Donetsk Regional Obkom [oblast party committee] of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has held an extraordinary plenary session. On the agenda was an issue on the vote of confidence on to the regional party committee on the part of the local communists. What was the reason for this conflict? In replying to the question, one of the participants in the plenum, secretary of the Donetsk regional party committee, Petro Symonenko, said that on 7 February there was a meeting outside the building of the party committee in Donetsk and participants said that certain workers of our party apparatus do not fulfil the obligations they took upon themselves, and at the plenum also, the speakers pointed out that an active party member must visit primary party organizations more frequently as well as meet with people.

The plenum participants demanded a more principled position from the party leaders and voiced serious claims to the leader of the regional party organization Anatoliy Vinniy, who was the first secretary of the party committee. He was self-critical in his speech and appealed to the plenum with a request on his resignation.

The plenum made an interval in order to discuss the situation at the primary organizations with communists and non-affiliated people, to set the date of the future conference, and also discuss an issue of nominating candidates to the post of the first secretary of the regional party committee.

'Unsanctioned' Meeting Held in Kiev

LD1302124990 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 13 Feb 90

[From roundup by "independent information agency" INTERFAX]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent reports from Kiev that last Sunday an unsanctioned meeting of many thousands of people took place there, organized by the Rukh group of people's deputies, and also by the Ukrainian Language Society. The meeting was dedicated to the demand for accelerated democratic changes in the republic Communist Party, granting the Ukraine economic independence, attracting foreign capital to the Ukraine, and introducing private land ownership. Calls were voiced at the meeting for consolidation of all progressive forces of the Ukraine, and for unity between nationalities in the interest of restructuring.

Religious Tensions Blamed on Ukrainian KGB

90UN0846 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "In the Committee for State Security"]

[Text] There have recently been problems in interreligious relations in Ivano-Frankovsk, Lvov, and Ternopol Oblasts as a result of attempts by adherents of the Greek Catholic (Uniat) Church to seize arbitrarily religious buildings of the Russian Orthodox Church. Disregarding the measures being taken by the Moscow patriarchate and the Vatican to resolve the so-called "Uniat question" by way of a dialog between the Russian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, Uniat adherents have arbitrarily seized more than 120 Russian Orthodox religious buildings at the instigation of and with the support of extremist elements.

According to information possessed by the KGB of the UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], the act of seizing the churches is often accompanied by blackmail, threats, and physical force against the priests and parishioners of the Russian Orthodox Church. The conflicts between adherents of the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches have had tragic results in some instances. The priest V.I. Bochalo died of a heart attack as a result of coercion and physical force on the part of members of the Uniat Church during the seizure of a Russian Orthodox church in the city of Zalesye, Zolochevskiy Rayon, Lvov Oblast. Hooliganism and other illegal actions were tolerated by the Greek Catholics in Ivano-Frankovsk and Lvov, the villages of Mshan Gorodokskiy, Vodyanoye, Obroshinoye Pustomytovskiy, and the town of Stebnik Drogobychskiy in the rayons of Lvov Oblast. The procuracy has instituted criminal proceedings in two cases and is conducting an examination as a result of instances of arbitrariness and hooliganism by adherents of the Uniat Church. The hierarchy, priests, and worshipers of the Russian Orthodox Church are lodging a vigorous protest against the extremist attacks of the Greek Catholics. The public is distressed by the developments in this region.

The leaders of the so-called "Committee to Defend the Uniat Catholic Church" are playing an improper role in the tense circumstances by resorting in many cases to incitement and falsification in order to instigate mass antisocial actions. It is also apparent that having sensed the gravity of the possible consequences of these actions, they are not averse to accusing the organs of power of aggravating interethnic and interreligious relations.

On 15 December 1989 I.A. Gel, chairman of the above-named committee, resident of Lvov, born in 1937, a Ukrainian, a nonparty man with no fixed occupation, convicted twice in the past, and repeatedly the subject of administrative action for various violations, was summoned to the directorate of the Lvov Oblast KGB. In recent public speeches before the inhabitants of the oblast, without producing any sort of concrete evidence, Gel accused the directorate of the KGB and other law enforcement organs of inciting enmity between the worshipers of various religious groups and committing other anticonstitutional actions.

A conversation was held with Gel during which it was suggested that he explain his speeches and substantiate them with concrete proof. He was unable to do this, and in his statement he wrote that his public declarations were not directed against the organs of state security and that they are, in his words, "figures of speech."

Gel's attention was directed to the fact that the organs of state security do not have any connection at all with the registration and activities of religious associations. It was explained to him that in connection with the conflicts arising between believers of different groups, one of the main tasks of the KGB organs and of the other law enforcement organs is to prevent possible clashes on religious grounds under current conditions. The resolution of any conflicts should take place with regard for the opinions of all the interested communities of believers on the basis of the principles of Christian morality, mutual respect, and observation of the norms of existing laws.

Despite the obvious implausibility of Gel's explanations, the directorate of the Lvov Oblast KGB, taking into account his candid protestations, considered it sufficient to limit itself to warning him about the inadmissibility of spreading slanderous fabrications and about possible liability in accordance with existing criminal law for the appropriate violation and for stirring up enmity among believers, which can give rise to grave consequences.

Economic

Academician Promotes Conversion to Civil Economy

PM1302101590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Academician V. Avduyevskiy, chairman of the Soviet National Commission to Promote Conversion, by IZVESTIYA scientific observer V. Konovalov; date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Defeat of the Militarized Economy"]

[Text] The Soviet National Commission to Promote Conversion has been set up on the initiative of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the Peace Foundation. This public commission comprises 33 scientists, politicians, and representatives of the military-industrial complex. Today we talk with its chairman about the progress of conversion.

[Konovalov] Vsevolod Sergeyevich, many people believe that the current crisis in the country is mainly determined by the excessive militarization of our economy—the continuous arms race simply proved beyond the state's capabilities. Do you share this viewpoint?

[Avduyevskiy] Yes. We can also see the drastically adverse effect of militarization on the economy from the U.S. example. In terms of its population's living standards, the United States has fallen from first to sixth place among the developed industrial powers. The scientific-technical standards of U.S.-manufactured goods has fallen far behind the world level. The United States now has a positive foreign trade balance only in sales of aircraft and chemical products; elsewhere imports prevail. Of course, the United States is much wealthier than the USSR, so militarization has not been such a heavy burden for it as for us, but the consequences are nevertheless very troubling. It is paradoxical but a fact that the World War II victors, who soon embarked on the path of confrontation, now find themselves in a worse position than the vanquished FRG, Japan, and Finland.

We see our commission's main task as being to ensure that it is absolutely clear to everyone in the country that conversion involves not merely the mechanical transfer of some defense enterprises to the production of peaceful output but a fundamentally new policy—both economic and military. We have to transform ourselves from a militarized state in which precedence was clearly given to the military industry into a country where civil production is the priority. We have spent several decades saying that there might be a war tomorrow and produced whole mountains of continually improved weapons. For this the military-industrial complex was given all the best things—cadres, equipment, and generous appropriations in rubles and hard currency.

[Konovalov] Chekhov said that if a gun appears on stage in the first act of a play, it must be fired in the second. Do you believe that the military-industrial complex has substantially affected our policy?

[Avduyevskiy] Of course. "Guns" were fired in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan. It is simply good fortune that there has not as yet been any more tragic shooting. With the notorious "balance of terror" there were effectively enough technical slip-ups for an atom bomb to have exploded. This danger has not disappeared, but it is substantially smaller. Perestroyka is only hitherto supposed to have given us one thing—glasnost. That is wrong. The new defense doctrine and conversion policy proclaimed by M.S. Gorbachev are equally or, possibly, even more important.

Today we must adopt a new approach to the actual concept of the country's security. After all, it affects the country's overall economic strength and Armed Forces. If the country has a comparatively small military industry and a strong civil economy, that will only intensify its security. Where necessary, civilian industry can also fulfill military orders successfully, as is the case, for instance, in Japan. Military spending only totals 0.6 percent of Japan's budget. At the same time it even supplies its electronics, which are based on the success of its civilian industry, to the U.S. Army.

[Konovalov] But the idea was propagandized for a long time that investing effort and money in the military-industrial complex is beneficial because it helps produce new technologies and materials which facilitate the development of the entire economy, by then infiltrating the national economy...

[Avduyevskiy] Military industry is so specific that its scientific and technical achievements often simply cannot be used even in the United States, where the market actively strives to assimilate all the best products. We have a general shortage in our economy; this dictates its will to the consumer, while scientific and technical progress is simply grabbed. That is why the latest achievements of science, equipment, and technology have found themselves locked behind the military-industrial complex "fence", virtually inaccessible to civil production. Moreover, the general hypertrophied system of secrecy and departmental barriers resulted in the best achievements being unable to circulate freely even within the military-industrial complex, encountering invisible but very solid barriers. In effect we cultivated individual ministries' "noncommodity economies."

Monopolization and procurement of various privileges became the main line of defense sector development. For instance, our Ministry of the Electronics Industry became a super-monopolist, seizing virtually the entire component base for electronics and radio engineering production. As a result we lagged catastrophically behind the world level.

There is no point in flattering ourselves that our military industry can ensure high standards in our civilian industry today. The civil aviation provided by the Ministry of the Aviation Industry provides an example. Our civil aircraft are generally modified military aircraft. Yet the tasks of a military transport and a civil aircraft are different. It generally takes a short haul of a few thousand kilometers to transfer troops somewhere, and economy is a secondary consideration. As a result our civil aircraft, to put it mildly, leave a great deal to be desired. The U.S. Boeing-747 entered production in 1970. It can fly from Moscow to New York nonstop. Yet our best wide-bodied aircraft, the Il-86, cannot do that, and it uses 50 percent more fuel on the transatlantic crossing. The Il-96, which will fly Moscow-New York nonstop, looks likely to enter production only in 1992. If we had an industry targeted to civil aviation, would there really be talk of Aeroflot's leasing foreign aircraft?

[Konovalov] Nevertheless, even the USSR Supreme Soviet considers it unreasonable to destroy the existing military-industrial complex structure. It is thought better to sell weapons and obtain consumer goods with the hard currency...

[Avduyevskiy] The old story. It is no coincidence that this idea was heard at the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, where military men and representatives of the military-industrial complex dominate. It would be more logical to examine this question in conjunction with other committees and commissions in order to assess this step's fatal consequences for the country. At the UN library recently I was acquainted with figures for world weapons sales. It turns out that we have held first place for a long time in this sordid business. There were years during the last decade when the USSR accounted for more than half of all world weapons sales.

Now our share of the world weapon sales market has considerably declined and is virtually comparable with the U.S. "contribution." The point is that the "Third World" is already crammed with weapons while, on the other hand, rich petroleum-producing countries prefer to pay more to buy state-of-the-art U.S. military hardware. You cannot help seeing that weapons sales, figuratively speaking, add fuel to the fire of local conflicts. I am convinced that, by analogy with the disarmament talks, it is time to begin talks on banning weapons sales. Those people who are today striving to develop the export option as a means of conversion are simply refusing to take an honest and sober look at the future. If we act like this, we will simply prolong the agony of a militarized economy. Let me remind you that the last peak sales of Soviet weaponry were in 1987-88, at a time of great budgetary losses and the beginning of the ruinous situation in our stores. Where is the hard currency that has been obtained? It has obviously been swallowed up by the "black hole" of military production. It has returned to the military-industrial complex, which has ground up the currency and resources to produce more sophisticated weapons. It is a vicious circle.

[Konovalov] Can you obtain via the USSR Supreme Soviet the figures for real military industry spending which are of interest to the commission?

[Avduyevskiy] We are cooperating with the USSR Council of Ministers and many ministries. But we do not in effect have adequate information to enable us to fully understand the nature of the Soviet military-industrial complex. Even now official figures do not inspire confidence. Let us think about this: What is this annual Defense Ministry budget of 70 billion rubles [R]? We say that we have parity with the United States. But they have an annual military budget of $300 billion. Granted, we have cheap manpower and cheaper Army upkeep and materials, but there is still too big a difference, especially given our lower labor productivity.

It has now been announced that in 1990, out of R70 billion, R31 billion will be used to purchase weapons and equipment and R13 billion will go on scientific design work. It looks as though the military-industrial complex consumes R44 billion a year. And we are told that if we implement conversion and transfer half of this money to the national economy, that will be a real revolutionary turn. But it turns out that 50 percent of the official military-industrial complex constitutes approximately R20 billion. In fact, losses from mismanagement in civilian industry alone, not to mention agriculture, are estimated to be much higher. Which means that conversion cannot play a serious role. I do not believe that this is the case. Conversion could in fact indeed play a revolutionary role! We are simply dealing once again with "crafty" figures, different methods of calculation. For instance, calculations by London's International Institute for Strategic Studies give considerably higher figures for our military spending—17.6 percent of GNP. That is approximately R200 billion.

[Konovalov] What is your opinion of the first steps in conversion?

[Avduyevskiy] In the USSR the military industry has fulfilled orders for consumer goods for many years. At present 40 percent of its time is spent on orders of this kind. This includes virtually all televisions, refrigerators, and vacuum cleaners. By 1995 it is planned to raise this to 60 percent. Yet new enterprises remain in the military industry and operate in two areas—which is inefficient, in my opinion.

[Konovalov] But this is acceptable world practice. For instance, America's General Electric successfully manufactures both military and civilian output...

[Avduyevskiy] But it takes profits from all its spheres of activity and can convert them freely, investing in those areas where the greatest advantage may be gleaned at the time in question. Even if it suffers a loss in some area—and it is important for it to keep its market—it manufactures that output, covering the losses at the expense of other areas. Whereas if several areas become unprofitable, the firm will be ruined. In our country enterprises are not ruined: There is no reduction in wages. Only the state is ruined. Over there a private firm fights for state orders. If it does not fulfill them, it is subjected to very harsh financial penalties. In our country the state effectively gives itself state orders. It is not inclined to exact harsh penalties from itself if it acts badly. We all suffer as a result.

[Konovalov] But conversion is creating competitive enterprises and monopolization is to some extent being undermined.

[Avduyevskiy] You are mistaken: At present everything is proceeding by way of edicts—it is not a free economy but a command economy that holds sway. Profit does not play a crucial role as should be the case in a market economy.

In order for there to be competition we first have to saturate the domestic market; defense plants are not striving to do this. It is much simpler to manufacture exhibition prototypes and small series, and sell all of it abroad on the pretense of conversion.

What is more, we have begun to witness another process—anticonversion—where civilian sectors are transferred to defense sectors, and this has helped to ruin our stores.

[Konovalov] In your view, what should be the best conversion strategy?

[Avduyevskiy] First, let us grasp what we are calling conversion. In world practice the elimination of a purely military production unit and the organization of a civilian production unit in its place is usually described as conversion. There are very few examples of this kind in our country now. It is mainly a case of what is usually described as diversification, i.e., the simultaneous production of both military and civilian output. Military and civilian production are too interwoven in our country; this makes it difficult to drastically build up production of peaceful output. It was one thing when the proportion of peaceful output totaled a few percent of production in the years of stagnation; it is another when it totals 40 percent. That is why all defense enterprises engaged in diversification are currently experiencing tremendous difficulties.

Of course, lack of experience also plays a significant role. After all, abroad, if a firm produces, say, vacuum cleaners, people have specialized in this business for a long time and strive to achieve the best technical and technological solutions in competitive struggle, while at the same time reducing output cost. Our enterprises often have to start virtually from scratch. They only have the production areas—and not always that—and existing equipment often is not suitable for peaceful output. Everything must be done quickly, well, and cheaply. That means licenses and imports. But this is good for five years, and then everything becomes outdated and once again lags behind the world level. That is why we must realize that civilian output requires special scientific and technical subunits to be set up and continually developed—which is only possible with full conversion.

[Konovalov] What about the superior technologies within the military-industrial complex?

[Avduyevskiy] Abroad, their use in civilian industry yields vast profits. The world describes this process of using military technologies as a "spin-off." But it is an intensive process owing to the market mechanism and competition. We do not have this yet.

Admittedly, even now "spin-off" could assume a much larger scale in our country if we created appropriate organizational forms. Small firms and cooperatives which would provide enterprises with new technologies on a "turnkey" basis are necessary for the rapid transfer of technologies. Unfortunately, they are developing very slowly, and those that do appear are often stifled by an inconsistent and foolish tax policy.

Conversion must be implemented in accordance with the long-term tasks of economic reform and perestroyka. In my opinion, it is at present being implemented on the basis of transient advantage.

I believe that a law on conversion must be adopted. Our commission has its own proposals and may participate in preparing a draft law.

[Konovalov] Conversion is supposedly encountering opposition because specialists are losing their specialization...

[Avduyevskiy] Specialization is not that everlasting for people. Our engineers are not so specialized as to be left without work owing to conversion. In the defense industry cadre turnover totals 20 percent. As you can see, no problems arise during voluntary transfer to other work.

Some workers supposedly consider that work on household equipment is not prestigious. I cannot understand that. It is absurd to consider the manufacture of output designed to destroy people prestigious and what benefits people not prestigious. It is merely much easier for an enterprise to manufacture one missile than several tens of thousands of vacuum cleaners or hundreds of thousands of baby buggies to the same value. This is a question which requires the highest organization of automated mass production. Isn't the automation and computerization of design and production prestigious work? No, it is simply that leaders seek easier ways.

Specialists in the military-industrial complex have not been accustomed to think about cost, whereas for civil output this question is of paramount importance. Thinking needs to be substantially restructured here. This restructuring is quite feasible. We could utilize the military industry's potential above all to boost output quality. It has a developed system of tests and testing grounds, which enable everything to be checked and all the weak points ascertained and so help to improve quality. Military-industrial complex specialists are experienced in this field and are able to make reliable products.

Admittedly, the ingrained military-industrial complex mentality needs to be changed to achieve this. The military-industrial complex always saw consumer goods as imposed, second-rate output. That mentality is not yet changing. That is why I believe that it is easier not to embark on yet another campaign to smash the psychology of the entire military-industrial complex but merely provide economic freedom and give independence to those people who manufacture consumer goods—let them form independent concerns, consortiums, and associations for the mass production of televisions, say, which is currently concentrated virtually entirely within the military-industrial complex, or video recorders or refrigerators. If we do not do this, the best "brains" will still be occupied with military hardware alone.

Defense industry conversion is very important. But it could prove another disaster and fail to produce an effect if conversion is not implemented in the broader sense of the word. We have to transform the entire administrative-edict economy—and this effectively means the militarized economy—into a competitive market economy. That is what I mean by the words "civil economy." All the postwar years have shown us convincingly that it is that kind of economy that has won the competition with a militarized economy.

Economic Changes Expand Insurance Industry

LD1302214490 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—The decentralization of foreign economic activities in the USSR, the emergence of numerous new foreign trade organizations, the development of joint enterprise and prospects of the creation of free trade zones have called for changes in the work of the Ingosstrakh Insurance Company, Mikhail Safronov, Ingosstrakh chairman, told journalists today.

Now Ingosstrakh insures joint enterprises practically against all types of risk, including in cooperation with foreign insurance companies. Aside from it, Ingosstrakh enabled Soviet organizations to insure export credits, for example, against nonpayment or a delay in payment for their export commodities. Some 150 Soviet enterprises and organizations signed general agreements with Ingosstrakh last year for insuring against various kinds of risk.

The expansion of the insurance business in the USSR through the introduction of new types of insurance for Soviet organizations, including joint enterprises, permitted Ingosstrakh to receive in 1989 revenues from insurance premiums to the sum exceeding 250 million foreign currency rubles.

According to Mikhail Safronov, new conditions of economic management in the USSR brought about an urgent need for creating an insurance market in the country. This requires new legislation which would regulate all aspects of the insurance business in the USSR. The creation in the USSR of a legal basis for the insurance business will permit to provide proper insurance protection for Soviet foreign trade and to develop new forms of cooperation with foreign partners in the sphere of insurance, for example, the insurance of space vehicles.

Latvian Labor Collectives Council Formed

18280001 Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 Feb 90 p 1

[LATINFORM-TASS report: "Labor Collectives Have United"]

[Text] Riga, 7 Feb, (LATINFORM-TASS). A new public organization has started working here—the LaSSR [Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic] United Council of Labor Collectives (Obyedinennyy Sovet Trudovykh Collectivov—OSTK). The OSTK considers its main task to be productive involvment in the economic development of Latvia in the renewed soviet federation. The council intends to protect the interests of labor collectives from subjectivism and bureaucratic diktat. It will assist in maintaining conditions in the republic that will ensure equal rights for every worker, independent of social status and nationality.

The council intends to actively participate in the LaSSR People's Deputies election campaign.

Donestsk Miners Form Commercial Economic Group

LD1302103590 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Donetsk February 13 TASS—By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Gordeyev and Vladimir Yurkevich:

A regional commercial economic association, the Donbass Ugol concern, has been formed by miners of the Donetsk region (southeastern Ukraine).

The concern comprises on voluntary principles five out of ten coal extracting enterprises.

"The Donbass Ugol concern is only the first step towards miners' real independence," Yuriy Smirnov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Donetsk Regional Council of People's Deputies, said.

"We know that our neighbours, Voroshilovgrad region miners, are also trying to solve this question. This illustrates the need to establish such a coordinating agency for the whole of the Ukraine. These considerations were contained in a letter which was sent to the republican government by the concern's organizing committee, at the demand of the delegates of a constituent conference."

"The letter suggests that the Ukrainian Council of Ministers should initiate the formation of an all-Ukrainian concern on the basis of the Donbass enterprises. The republican coal industry actually acts on its own and enterprises are disunited in solving problems," he said.

The formation of the concern is a new stage in the miners' mounting movement. From emotions and meetings the miners are passing over to specific deeds.